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# Naturalization in Athenian Law and Practice

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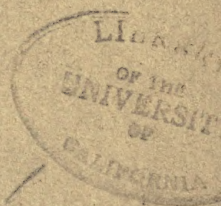
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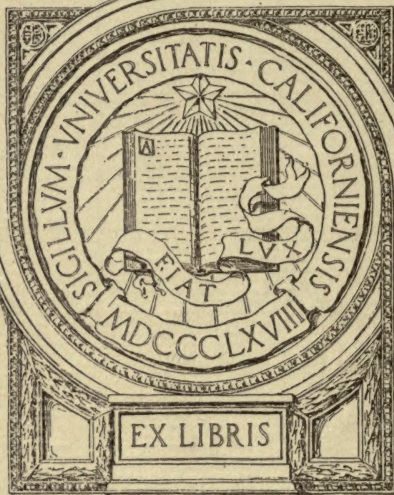
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

ALBERT BILLHEIMER



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# Naturalization in Athenian Law and Practice

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ALBERT E. BROWN

## PREFACE

During the years which have passed since I entered into the active enjoyment of teaching I have come to appreciate more and more deeply my indebtedness to all my teachers at Princeton. This indebtedness I wish to acknowledge gratefully. In connection with this dissertation my thanks are due especially to Professor Edward Capps for his constant inspiration and to Professor A. C. Johnson for his invaluable aid and thorough criticism. At the same time I reserve to myself the responsibility for all errors.

ALBERT BILLHEIMER.

*Gettysburg, Pennsylvania*  
*August 23, 1922*

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## ERRATA

- Page 19, note 30: *for 11 read 13.*
- Page 25, note 6: *for 22 read 24.*
- Page 26, note 18: *for 22 read 24.*
- Page 31, note 42: *for 27 read 29.*
- Page 35, note 63: *for 14 read 16.*

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ALBERT BULLINGER.

Princeton, Pennsylvania.

August 25, 1902.

## ERRATA

Page 10, line 14, for "1" read "2".  
Page 12, line 10, for "1" read "2".  
Page 12, line 11, for "1" read "2".  
Page 12, line 12, for "1" read "2".  
Page 12, line 13, for "1" read "2".  
Page 12, line 14, for "1" read "2".

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## INTRODUCTION

The laws which governed admission to the Athenian citizen-body on the basis of qualifications of birth have been discussed frequently, but the laws which regulated the admission of aliens have received only casual treatment.<sup>1</sup> This study was undertaken for the purpose of further investigating the reasons for which the Athenians granted citizenship to aliens. Its present form is due to a statement made by Szanto<sup>2</sup> that the Solonian law which provided for the admission of exiles and permanent settlers was applied, at least to exiles, in Demosthenes' time.

In the first chapter the history of the qualifications for citizenship on the basis of birth is considered. The second chapter deals with the various formulae found in decrees which grant citizenship to aliens. The third chapter is devoted to the discussion and application of the laws which state the reasons for which citizenship was granted to aliens. The pre-Solonian laws are considered first. The information here is scanty and our conclusions necessarily indefinite. Then the laws from the time of Solon to 100 B. C. are taken up and their respective chronological limits are determined by the evidence of individual instances of grants of citizenship. In the light of the conclusions thus reached the possible reasons for grants to a special class of persons, i. e., to literary men, are discussed in order to learn their relation to the general law. In the fourth chapter we consider the purpose which actuated the state in granting citizenship upon the conditions stipulated in the general law, the effect of this policy upon the value of the grant, the degree to which the purpose of the state was realized, and

1 A. Westermann, *De publicis Atheniensium honoribus ac prae-miis*, 30-39; E. Szanto, *Untersuchungen über das attische Bürgerrecht*, 26-31; *Das griechische Bürgerrecht*, 46-50.

2 *Untersuch. ü. d. att. Bürgerr.*, 30.

the effect of nominal citizenship upon its realization. In the fifth chapter evidence is presented on the question whether a poet of foreign nationality was permitted to compete at the Dionysiac festivals in Athens. The appendix contains an alphabetical list of the names of naturalized Athenians, together with such facts as are pertinent to the time and reason of their naturalization. The list aims to be complete down to 100 B. C.

## CHAPTER I

### QUALIFICATIONS FOR CITIZENSHIP

At the beginning of his discussion of the πόλις Aristotle<sup>1</sup> raises the question, τίς ὁ πολίτης ἐστὶ; giving as his reason, ἡ γὰρ πόλις πολιτῶν τι πλῆθος ἐστίν. Residence does not make a citizen, for metics and slaves also reside in the state; neither do the advantages of common jurisdiction, for these belong to the parties to a commercial treaty. But a citizen is characterized τῷ μετέχειν κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς. Aristotle then quotes the popular definition which describes a citizen as τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν and makes the objection that this definition could not be applied to the first founders or inhabitants of states, and that it would cause great uncertainty in the case of those who were enfranchised after a change of government, as happened at Athens under Clisthenes. The first definition involves merely an investigation of fact, namely, whether an individual is actually exercising certain functions; the second bases citizenship upon descent and involves a question of right, namely, whether an individual is qualified to exercise those functions. The one is theoretical (πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν); it can be applied only to a citizen-body which is unchanging, or be used merely to determine who are exercising the functions of citizenship at any particular time. The other is practical (πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν), and must be used where the citizen-body is constantly changing and receiving accessions, for the legislator must determine, not only who are citizens, but also who are qualified for admission to citizenship.

In so far as the qualifications for Athenian citizenship were based upon birth, only children born in legitimate wedlock were eligible.<sup>2</sup> However, the legal definition of legitimate wedlock differed at various periods of Athe-

1 *Pol.* iii. 1275a 1.

2 O. Müller, "Untersuch. zur Gesch. d. att. Bürger- und Ehe-rechts," *JCPH*, Suppl. Bd. XXV (1899), 663-865.

nian history. These differences followed political changes. "Die oligarchische Partei ist geneigt, die Ausländerinnen zur Ehe zuzulassen, die Teilnahme am ἀρχεῖν aber auf eine geringe Zahl von "Bürgern" zu beschränken. Die Demokratie gewährt möglichst volles Recht, beschränkt aber den Kreis der Bürger auf die Kinder von Bürger und Bürgerin." The requirement that the father be an Athenian citizen was strictly adhered to, but the requirement concerning the nationality of the mother underwent changes. In the days of the aristocracy marriage was based upon class distinctions. The nobility married members of the nobility, whether Athenian or foreign; common people married free common people, whether Athenian or foreign. In the time of Draco and of Solon the children of a union between an Athenian and an alien were not Athenian citizens. Solon believed in the principle, "Athens only for the Athenians."<sup>3</sup> Damasias (ca. 582 B. C.) admitted the children of a citizen and an alien to citizenship in order to gain supporters for his tyranny. This situation continued until the time of Isagoras (508/7 B. C.), who again restricted citizenship to the children of Athenian parents. Clisthenes again secured the admission of children of alien mothers as a reward for their support against his rival Isagoras. This regulation continued in force until the middle of the fifth century. In 451 B. C. citizenship was again limited to the children of Athenian parents, when on the motion of Pericles it was voted μὴ μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως ὅς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστοῖν ἢ γεγονώς.<sup>4</sup> In 445/4 B. C., upon the occasion of a distribution of grain, the law of Pericles was made retroactive.<sup>5</sup> In 414

3 A. Ledl (WSt, XXX [1909], 213 f.) opposes this view in the following words: "Somit hat seit den Tagen des griechischen Mittelalters bis zum Jahre 451 in Athen der Satz gegolten: die Ehe mit einer Ausländerin ist gültig, die Kinder aus einer solchen Verbindung sind γνήσιοι — seit dem Bestand des ἐγγύησις-Gesetzes natürlich nur unter der Voraussetzung, das die Ehe durch ἐγγύη eingegangen war."

4 Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 26. Cf. Plut. *Per.* 37; Aelian *Var. hist.* vi. 10.

5 Plut. *Per.* 37; Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 718.

B. C. the sons of alien women were still excluded from citizenship,<sup>6</sup> but in 411/0 B. C. they were admitted.<sup>7</sup> It was undoubtedly due to the terrible loss of life in the Sicilian disaster and the immediate necessity of increasing the number of citizens that the qualification of birth was relaxed at this time.<sup>8</sup> At the close of the war in the archonship of Euclides a law was passed that ὅς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀστῆς γένηται νόθον εἶναι.<sup>9</sup> That this law might not be retroactive in its effect, it was amended so as to exempt from its provisions those who had exercised citizenship before Euclides.<sup>10</sup> This law, according to which only children born in wedlock of an Athenian father and an Athenian mother could be admitted into citizenship, remained the qualification of birth for citizenship, at least until the year 328/7 B. C.<sup>11</sup>

6 Aristoph. *Av.* 1641 ff.

7 [Plut.] *Vita Antiph.* ed. Westermann, 29.

8 According to Müller (*loc. cit.*) union with a foreign woman was permitted by law between 411 and 403 B. C., while Ledl (*loc. cit.*) believes that the violation of the Periclean law was winked at.

9 Athen. xiii. 577b.

10 Schol. Aeschines 1. 39.

11 Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 42.

## CHAPTER II

### FORMULAE OF ATTIC DECREES OF CITIZENSHIP

Aliens could obtain Athenian citizenship by a grant of the people. The practice of admitting aliens can be traced back into very early times and was continued beyond the year 100 B. C., the limit of this study. Athens became very liberal with her grants. As compared with her, Aegina, Megara, Sparta, and Oreus are said to have been much more conservative. When finally the Athenians sold the privilege of citizenship for money, Augustus put an end to this method of grant.<sup>1</sup>

The grant of the people took the form of a decree passed by the senate and the assembly. When the grant was made to an individual his name was given in the decree. The *ethnicon* was also given; in only three inscriptions is it certainly missing.<sup>2</sup> The name of the father first appears in 331/0 B. C.<sup>3</sup> That it is not found earlier in decrees of citizenship is perhaps due to chance, for it is given in other honorary decrees of a somewhat earlier date (before 357/6 B. C.), and there is no apparent reason for a difference in usage. After 331/0 B. C. both the father's name and the *ethnicon* were regularly given. However, in only three of the inscriptions under consideration here are the name of the recipient, the name of the father, and the *ethnicon* placed in the clause which confers citizenship. A vote of thanks and a crown are nearly always conferred in connection with citizenship, and, as they precede the latter, they contain the name, father, and *ethnicon* of the recipient, unless these have been given already in the introductory clause of the decree.

The motion to grant citizenship consisted of several

1 Cassius Dio liv. 7: ἀπηγόρευσέ σφισι [Ἀθηναίοις] μηδὲνα πολίτην ἀργυρίου ποιεῖσθαι (21 B. C.).

2 IG, I, 59; II<sup>2</sup>, 405, 666.

3 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 350; cf. II<sup>2</sup>, 336 (334/3 B. C.).

parts, the grant proper and subsidiary motions indicating the various steps in the legal procedure, thus: (1) grant proper, (2) enrolment, (3) second vote, (4) judicial scrutiny. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 507 (303/2 B. C.) gives the formula in full: (1) εἶναι [α]ὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ], (2) καὶ γράψασθαι φυλῆς καὶ δήμου κα[ὶ] φρατρίας ἧς ἂν βούληται κατὰ τὸν νόμον, (3) δοῦναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ψῆφον περὶ [α]ὐτοῦ τοὺς πρυτάνεις εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν, (4) καὶ τοὺς θεσμοθέτας [τ]οὺς ἐπὶ Νικοκλέους ἄρχοντος προ[γ]ράψαι αὐτῷ τὴν δοκιμασίαν ἐν τῷ Μεταγαιτινῶνι μηνί. In considering these four parts of the motion to grant citizenship we shall take them in their natural order, grant proper, second vote, judicial scrutiny, and enrolment.

Two forms of the formula of the grant proper are found in the inscriptions:

A. εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον.

B. δίδοσθαι (δεδόσθαι) αὐτῷ τὴν πολιτείαν.

A is the older form, appearing first in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1 (405/4 B. C.). This is the regular form found in inscriptions earlier than 230 B. C. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 851, in which formula B appears, should be dated before 224/3 B. C. according to Ferguson,<sup>4</sup> but Wilhelm<sup>5</sup> places the date after the middle of the second century. At all events formula A has given way to formula B in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 850, which belongs to the last years of the third century, and in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 856, which is not much older than the second century.<sup>6</sup>

Against a decree of citizenship it was possible for any Athenian to introduce a γραφή παρανόμων.<sup>7</sup> In the fourth century the process became still more strict in form. After the passage of the decree it was again voted upon by secret ballot in a subsequent assembly in which more

4 *Klio*, VIII (1908), 339 f.

5 *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 300.

6 *Ibid.*, 298.

7 Busolt, Müller, *Hdb. d. kl. Altertumswiss.*, IV, 1, 1, 200.

than six thousand citizens voted.<sup>8</sup> The first reference in inscriptions to the second assembly is found in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 103 (369/8 B. C.). After the decree had been passed by both assemblies a γραφή παρανόμων might still be brought.<sup>9</sup> In the second half of the fourth century the optional γραφή παρανόμων was replaced by a regular judicial examination before the public court (δοκιμασία).<sup>10</sup> This process had not yet been introduced at the time of the speech *Against Neaera* (ca. 340), but had come into use by 334/3 B. C.<sup>11</sup> The formula as it first appears complete in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 398 (ca. 320/19 B. C.) runs as follows: [τοὺς θεσμοθέτας δο]κιμάσαι τὴν πο[λιτείαν ὅταν πρῶ]τον χρῶνται δι[καστηρίοις]. The fact that the provisions for the second vote and the judicial scrutiny do not appear consistently in the decrees after the date of their introduction has caused some divergence of opinion regarding the periods of the existence of those procedures. The clause providing for the second vote had been dropped by the end of the third century.<sup>12</sup> According to Johnson<sup>13</sup> the scrutiny before the public courts seems to have been abandoned about 332 B. C., was required once in the years 321-319 B. C., and does not occur again until 303/2 B. C., when it was again introduced. The usage from 301 to 296 B. C. is unknown, but in 295/4 B. C. the regulation appears, and we may assume that its use was constant at least until the Nationalists were displaced by the pro-Macedonian party ca. 280 B. C.<sup>14</sup> The presence or absence of the formula points to the existence or non-existence of the

8 [Dem.] 59. 89.

9 *Ibid.*

10 Szanto, *Untersuch. ü. d. att. Bürgerr.*, 19.

11 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 336; Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 440; *AJA*, XVIII (1914), 178; but see Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 266 on the uncertainty of the restoration.

12 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 850, 856; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 300.

13 *AJA*, XVIII (1914), 178 f.

14 Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 265 f. Tarn (*JHSt*, XL [1920], 158) dates this change of government in 282/1 B. C.

practice, and changes in the practice follow changes in the government.<sup>15</sup>

Having successfully passed the judicial examination new citizens were admitted into a tribe, deme, and phratry. Until after 334/3 B. C.<sup>16</sup> their choice was unrestricted,<sup>17</sup> the Samians excepted, or freedom of choice was expressly granted by adding the clause, φυλὴν καὶ δῆμον καὶ φρατρίαν ἐλέσθαι ἥτιν' ἂν βούλωνται.<sup>18</sup> During the second half of the fourth century this freedom of enrolment was restricted and a limiting phrase or clause was added to the motion. The first datable example of such a restriction occurs in 331/0 B. C.,<sup>19</sup> where the phrase κατὰ τὸν νόμον is used.<sup>20</sup> "In the third century the variations in the formulae and requirements of enrolment are most complicated. For the most part they seem to follow political changes."<sup>21</sup>

As has been noted on page thirteen, the following was the original order in which the various parts of a motion

15 Johnson, *op. cit.*, 440. On the other hand Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, 283 f., 301) believes that the presence or absence of such subsidiary motions as those providing for a second vote and a scrutiny signifies nothing as to the actual existence or non-existence of those requirements. It was essential to record on the stone only the main motion, for that in itself set the legal machinery moving, and the motions which affected the details of the procedure of naturalization followed automatically in an order arranged by law. "Mit vollem Recht," he says (*op. cit.*, 282), "hat sich aber auch W. Larfeld gegen die Versuche gewendet, aus der bald grösseren bald geringeren Vollständigkeit der Formeln weitgehende Folgerungen auf Wandlungen der athenischen Gesetzgebung abzuleiten."

16 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 336.

17 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 17, 19.

18 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 25.

19 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 350.

20 Johnson, *op. cit.*, 424; AJA, XVIII (1914), 174 f. Wilhelm (WSt, XXIX [1907], 1) explains this restriction as follows: "Augenscheinlich soll verhütet werden, dass der Bürger der Nachbarstadt ein Grundstück erwirbt, das mit deren Gebiet räumlich zusammenhängt und so nicht nur ein bedenklicher Stützpunkt fremder Macht im eigenen Lande, sondern auch Anlass einer Verschiebung der Grenze werden kann, ja eine solche in gewissem Sinne schon bedeutet."

21 Johnson, CPh, IX (1914), 440.

to grant citizenship were stated: (1) grant proper, (2) enrolment, (3) second vote, (4) judicial scrutiny. By the end of the third century this order had been abandoned and in its place had been substituted the order in which the various parts of the motion would naturally follow one another in the execution of the whole motion, as follows: (1) grant proper, to which is now and then added a provision for judicial scrutiny, or a general expression that the proceeding be conducted according to law, (2) judicial scrutiny, (3) enrolment. Thus *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 856 runs as follows: [δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ] καὶ πολιτ[εῖαν δοκιμασθέντι κατὰ τὸν νό]μον, τοὺς δὲ θεσμ[οθέτας ὅταν πληρῶσι δικαστήρι]α εἰς ἓνα καὶ πεντακο[σίους δικαστὰς συν]νείμαντας εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐ[τῷ τὴν δοκιμασί]αν καὶ δοῦναι περὶ αὐτοῦ τ[ὴν ψῆφον, γράψασ]θαι δὲ αὐτὸν φυλῆς καὶ δῆ[μου καὶ φρατρίας] ἧς ἂν βούληται.

Having been admitted into the state the new citizen exercised all the rights and enjoyed all the privileges of native Athenians with a few exceptions. In the speech *Against Neaera* (92) the disabilities placed upon new citizens are mentioned: "The law expressly declares that, when citizens have been created by the people of Athens, they shall not be eligible to the offices of the nine archons, or to hold any priesthood; though their descendants are allowed by the people to share all civic rights with this condition, that their mothers must be women of Athenian birth and affianced according to law."

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

There are two<sup>22</sup> inscriptions in which the formulae, as usually restored, do not conform to the above types. The first is *IG*, I, 59 (410/09 B. C.), the earliest extant decree of citizenship. The body of the decree is written στοιχηδόν with thirty-six letters to the line. Lines 15-17, which contain the formula, appear as follows:

[TAMENAAAΛAKAΘAΠEPTEIBOΛEI]	EINAIΔEΘPAΣY
.....	AIΦPATPIAΣHO
.....	NKAITALLATAE

<sup>22</sup> *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 336b is not an original grant, but a renewal. If *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 472+169 is correctly restored by Wilhelm (*MAI*, XXXIX [1914], 285 ff.), it may not be an original grant.

The first five letters of line 16 should conclude the name Θρασύβολος, in whose honor the decree was passed. Either βολον or βολοι must be supplied. Next, the word φρατρίας evidently concludes the regular phrase φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας, which is common to all decrees of citizenship. This leaves six letters to be restored after the proper name. A comparison with the usage of this period suggests Ἀθηναῖος as the word to be supplied. Lines 15 and 16 would then run as follows:

[TAMENALLAKAΘAΠEPTTEIBOΛEI]EINAIΔEΘPAΣY  
[BOΛONAΘENAIONΦYΛEΣKAIΔEMOK]AIΦPATPIAΣHO

Dittenberger<sup>23</sup> thus restores it. But this restoration, while officially correct, is open to the obvious criticism of giving the line thirty-eight instead of thirty-six letters.

To meet this difficulty Velsen and Kirchoff<sup>24</sup> suggest τὲ εἶναι, reading as follows:

[TAMENALLAKAΘAΠEPTTEIBOΛEI]EINAIΔEΘPAΣY  
[BOΛOIΦYΛEΣTEENAIKAIΔEMOK] AIΦPATPIAΣHO

But this formula is open to the criticism of being anomalous and of giving thirty-seven letters to line 16 if we read EINAI instead of ENAI.

There is yet another possibility, i. e., that the decree represents a confirmation of a previous grant, and not an original grant. Three choices are therefore open: to accept Dittenberger's restoration involving a disregard of the στοιχηδόν arrangement, which is elsewhere in the decree uniformly followed; to adopt some formula which, like Kirchoff's, has no analogy; or to conclude that the decree represents the confirmation of a previous grant. The last view seems most reasonable, especially as the *ethnicon* and the phrase καὶ ἐκγόνους, which are regularly

23 Ditt., *Syll.*<sup>a</sup>, 108.

24 *Monatsberichte der Academie*, (1861), 1, 601 ff.

present in decrees of citizenship, are missing. The whole passage might then be restored as follows:

[TAMENΑΛΛΑΚΑΘΑΠΕΡΤΕΙΒΟΛΕΙ]ΕΙΝΑΙΔΕΘΡΑΣΥ  
[ΒΟΛΟΝΕΚΟΝΤΑΦΥΛΕΣΚΑΙΔΕΜΟΚ]ΑΙΦΡΑΤΡΙΑΣΗΘ  
[ΝΑΝΒΟΛΕΤΑΙΗΟΣΟΝΤΑΑΘΕΝΑΙΟ]ΝΚΑΙΤΑΛΛΑΤΑΕ

The restoration, ἤκοντα,<sup>25</sup> exactly fills the lacuna, as also does ὥς ὄντα Ἀθηναῖον in line 17. Dittenberger's ἀπογραφάμενον in place of the latter has one letter too few for the lacuna.

Having previously been made an Athenian, but having failed to come to Athens to be enrolled, provision is now made for his reception into the citizen-body. Reference is made to the previous decree in his honor in lines 17-18:

ΚΑΙΤΑΛΛΑΤΑΕ  
[ΦΣΕΦΙΣΜΕΝΑΤΟΙΔΕΜΟΙΚΥΡΙΑΕ]ΝΑΙΘΡΑΣΥΒΟΛΟ<sup>26</sup>

The other decree whose form is uncertain is *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10. It was passed in 401/0 B. C.<sup>27</sup> in honor of ὅσοι συνκατῆλθον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς. The inscription is written στοιχῆδόν with possibly eighty-five letters to the line. The honor conferred stood at the end of the fifth and in the first half of the

25 In this inscription the aspirate is written at least twelve times and omitted at least three times.

26 This view of the case differs from that of Valeton (*Hermes*, XLIII [1908], 481-99). He accepts Dittenberger's restoration and makes this decree the original grant of citizenship. For other discussions of the decree see Gilbert, *Beiträge zur innern Geschichte Athens*, 346 ff.; Szanto, *Untersuch. ü. d. att. Bürgerr.*, 13 ff.; Röhl, *Hermes*, XI (1876), 378 ff.; Foucart, *BCH*, XIII (1889), 266; Hartel, "Beiträge zum attischen Staatsrecht und Urkundenwesen," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XCII (1878), 181 ff.; Wilhelm, *Arch. Epigr. Mitt. aus Oesterreich*, XVII (1894), 37 ff.; H. Beumann, *JCPH*, Suppl. Bd. X (1878-79), 350.

27 Körte, *MAI*, XXV (1900), 392 ff.

sixth line. Ziebarth<sup>28</sup> restores it as follows: ἐψηφίσθαι· Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόν[οις αὐτῶν καὶ φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἂν βούλωνται]. The objection to this restoration is the fact that the use of εἶναι with the dative in this type of formula is anomalous.

Recognizing the objection to Ziebarth's restoration H. von Prott<sup>29</sup> has suggested the following: ἐψηφίσθαι Ἀθηναίοις· εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόν[οις πολιτεῖαν καὶ φυλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἂν βούλωνται]. However, this restoration does not better the case, for the use of the word πολιτεία in citizenship decrees does not occur until the second half of the third century.<sup>30</sup> With regard to the restoration of IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 33 as a decree of citizenship by inserting the word πολιτεία Wilhelm<sup>31</sup> remarks: "Gegen die Zuerken- nung des Bürgerrechtes liessen sich auch sonst Bedenken, zumal der Form wegen, geltend machen." If the use of the word πολιτεία in this construction is anomalous for the period of this decree (*ca.* 385 B. C.), it would be much more so in the time of the decree under consideration (401/0 B. C.).

Why is the effort so persistent to restore this inscription as a decree of citizenship when the evidence of the formula contradicts such an interpretation? First, many of the names inscribed upon the reverse side of the stone are foreign, and, says von Prott,<sup>32</sup> "Gemeint können damit nur Metöken sein und diesen Metöken kann nur das Bürgerrecht verliehen worden sein. Denn die auf der Rückseite verzeichneten Männer—unzweifelhaft dieselben, von denen das Psephisma handelte—sind nach Phylen geordnet, also Bürger."<sup>33</sup> Second, there seems to be some connection between this document and the honors paid to the heroes of Phyle.<sup>34</sup>

28 MAI, XXIII (1898), 28.

29 MAI, XXV (1900), 35; Ditt., *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 120.

30 See p. 11.

31 *Er. Vin.*, 245.

32 *Op. cit.*, 38.

33 Cf. Körte, *op. cit.*, 393.

34 Aeschines 3. 187; Ziebarth, *op. cit.*, 30 ff.; H. von Prott, *op. cit.*, 36 ff.; S. B. Franklin, *TrAPhA*, XXXII (1901), 72 ff.

These arguments prove nothing. In the first place, Aeschines makes no reference to any grant of citizenship in this connection, while the only reward promised by the democrats was ἰσοτέλεια. Xenophon<sup>35</sup> says: πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν, ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσσεσθαι, ἐξῆσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλιῖται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνῆτες. In the second place, the arrangement of metics by tribes does not make the assumption of citizenship necessary. Indeed, if we were dealing with a group of newly-made citizens and the inscription were intended to indicate that fact, the arrangement should be, not by tribes, but by demes, for a citizen is officially designated as such by his deme-name. We have some information about the arrangement of names by tribes. From the earliest times the Athenians observed the custom of burying the citizens who fell in battle in the public burying ground of the Ceramicus. Over the graves stelai were erected, bearing the names of the dead arranged by tribes. And it was only in the case of citizens who died in battle that names were inscribed in the official order of the tribes—so far as our information goes. This was due to the fact that the Athenian military organization was composed of tribal units. An Athenian army was but an aggregate of ten tribes of citizen soldiers. Even the ephebi were divided for mess into ten divisions according to tribes. The tribal arrangement has a military significance. If a decree were passed in honor of a large number of citizen soldiers, is it not possible that their names would be arranged according to the divisions of the organization in connection with which they were honored, i. e., by tribes? Now, metics formed part of the same military unit as the citizens and were likewise enrolled in the tribal contingents. The persons mentioned in this inscription are apparently metics who shared in the military operations which followed the occupation of Phyle.<sup>36</sup> There is, therefore, the possibility that this arrangement by tribes does not indicate a posi-

35 *Hell.* ii. 4. 25.

36 Clerc, *Les Métèques Athéniens*, 429.

tion in the citizen-body which was acquired by this decree, but rather indicates the military divisions in which they had rendered the services for which they are being honored. True, when named together with citizens in burial inscriptions metics are called ἑγγραφοί; the omission of this designation might be due to the fact that only metics are mentioned. Lastly, the successful opposition to Thrasybulus' motions to grant citizenship to Lysias and to all who had come along back from Piraeus indicates the existence of a strong conservative sentiment which should make us hesitate to interpret this as a decree conferring citizenship.<sup>37</sup>

Several other inscriptions require special mention here because they have been called decrees of citizenship either incorrectly or without sufficient evidence. According to Kirchner *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 706, 719, 720—all dated the beginning of the third century B. C.—are decrees of citizenship. With these compare *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 732 (dated the beginning of the third century B. C.), 801 (dated the middle of the third century B. C.), 802 (dated after the middle of the third century B. C.), 810 (dated about 230 B. C.). It is clear that Kirchner is correct in not calling Nos. 732, 801, 802, 810 decrees of citizenship, but it is not clear why he does so designate Nos. 706, 719, 720, which are very similar to them. It may be due to the presence of the clause containing the instructions to the thesmothetae. Kirchner apparently believes that at the time Nos. 706, 719, 720 were written the scrutiny clause is found only in decrees of citizenship, while at the time of Nos. 732, 801, 802, 810 it may be found in connection with grants of either citizenship or ἑγκλησις.

In the first place, Kirchner's chronological arrangement

37 Since the above was written three discussions of this inscription have appeared: P. Cloché, *La restauration démocratique à Athènes en 403 avant J.-C.*, 459-69; "Le décret de 401/0 en l'honneur des métèques revenus de Phylè," *REG*, XXX (1917), 384-408; P. Foucart, "Un décret Athénien relatif aux combattants de Phylè," *Mém. de l'Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, XLII, 323 ff. Cloché accepts the restoration πολιτείαν in l. 5. I have not been able to see Foucart's article.

is too uncertain to support such a conclusion. The date assigned by him to No. 706 is too early, for, according to Johnson,<sup>38</sup> "the value of the amount of property is never given before the last half of the [third] century." Consequently No. 706 is to be dated in the last half of the third century, or about 232 B. C.,<sup>39</sup> and, therefore, the scrutiny clause may apply to ἔγκτησις as well as to citizenship. Further, regardless of the exact date of No. 706 the scrutiny clause may apply to ἔγκτησις, for ἔγκτησις is explicitly granted and the value of the amount of property is mentioned, and the clause of scrutiny in connection with ἔγκτησις appears first and regularly when the value of the amount of property is given. Finally, citizenship cannot be granted in No. 706. Citizenship and ἔγκτησις are not granted together in Athenian decrees because the right of ἔγκτησις is included in citizenship. "Dagegen gibt es kein Bürgerrechtsdiplom der reinen Form, d. h. ohne gleichzeitige Verleihung der Proxenie, welches die ἔγκτησις verliehe."<sup>40</sup> "So hat man es in Athen verstanden, die Politie von der Proxenie rein zu erhalten."<sup>41</sup>

The only reason for mentioning ἔγκτησις in an Athenian decree of citizenship would be to limit, not to grant, the right of ownership. Ferguson<sup>42</sup> seems to refer to the existence of such a practice in these words: "A revision of the laws was also made, and it appears that alterations were effected in the law of property by which the old prohibition against immigrants owning land within a certain distance of the frontier was extended, and a maximum was imposed upon the value of real estate which a naturalized foreigner might acquire in Attica. It differed in different cases, on what principle we cannot ascertain. In one instance the amount fixed was two talents, in another one thousand *drachmae* only, and in still another three thousand *drachmae* for house and two talents for land. Conceivably the state granted simply

38 *Op. cit.*, 433.

39 *Ibid.*

40 Szanto, *Griech. Bürgerr.*, 25.

41 *Ibid.*, 22.

42 *Hellen. Ath.*, 245.

the request which accompanied each petition for citizenship, and no longer gave *carte blanche* for future acquisitions." Not one of the documents on which Ferguson seems to base this statement is a decree of citizenship; neither does there appear to be any decree of citizenship in which the right to own property is limited by the statement of a definite value. Therefore Ferguson's expression "naturalized foreigner" seems to be incorrectly used for "resident foreigner." Of course in the case of resident foreigners a grant of ἐγκλησις about this time (232 B. C.) was limited by a statement of the maximum value of the property which they might own or acquire.

It seems possible that Nos. 719 and 720 also might be dated later. If so, they may, or may not, be decrees of citizenship.

## CHAPTER III

### REASONS FOR GRANTING CITIZENSHIP

Szanto<sup>1</sup> cites three classes of foreigners upon whom citizenship could be conferred by law, i. e., exiles, permanent settlers, and benefactors of the state. The first two classes are mentioned in Plutarch's *Solon*, 24: παρέχει δ' ἀπορίαν καὶ ὁ τῶν δημοποιητῶν νόμος ὅτι γενέσθαι πολίτας οὐ δίδωσι πλὴν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀειφυγία τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἢ πανεστίοις Ἀθήναζε μετοικιζομένοις ἐπὶ τέχνῃ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαί φασιν αὐτὸν οὐχ οὕτως ἀπελαύνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους ὥς κατακαλούμενον Ἀθήναζε τούτους ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τῷ μεθέξειν τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἅμα πιστοὺς νομίζοντα τοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότας τὴν ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, τοὺς δ' ἀπολελοιπότας διὰ τὴν γνώμην. The third class is mentioned in the speech *Against Neaera*, 89: πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νόμος ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ κείμενος, μὴ ἐξεῖναι ποιήσασθαι Ἀθηναῖον, ὃν ἂν μὴ δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἄξιον ᾗ γενέσθαι πολίτην.<sup>2</sup>

The periods during which these laws were in operation are given by Szanto<sup>3</sup> as follows: The law concerning exiles and permanent settlers appeared as part of the legislation of Solon and was in force, with regard to exiles at least, in Demosthenes' time. The latter date is fixed by the fact that the law was applied in the case of Pytho in 360/59 B. C. The reference is as follows: Πύθων οὕτως, ὅτι μὲν Κότυν εὐθὺς ἀπεκτονῶς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγεῖτ' ἀπελθεῖν ὅποι τύχοι, ἦλθεν ὥς ὑμᾶς καὶ πολιτείαν ἤτησε.<sup>4</sup> The law concerning benefactors of the state existed before Euclides, for the formula of motivation for the grant in *IG*, I, 59 shows that as early as 410/09 B. C. citizenship was granted δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν περὶ τὸν δῆμον. Andocides<sup>5</sup> says that citizenship was granted to those οἱ ἂν ὑμᾶς [Ἀθηναίους]

1 *Untersuch. ü. d. att. Bürgerr.*, 26-31.

2 Cf. Andoc. 2. 23.

3 *Loc. cit.*

4 Dem. 23. 127.

5 2. 23.

φαίνονται ποιούντες τι ἀγαθόν. That this law was in force in Demosthenes' time is shown by the passage in the speech *Against Neaera*.<sup>6</sup> Szanto's summary of the reasons for which the Athenians granted citizenship is incomplete and in some respects misleading. A new examination of the reasons for which citizenship was granted and their chronological limits is necessary.

### Pre-Solonian Period

There are two passages which obviously refer to very early times. The scholium to Thucydides i. 2 states that οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν εὐθὺς μετεδίδουσιν πολιτείας, ὕστερον δὲ οὐκέτι. Suidas<sup>7</sup> says: νόμος δ' ἦν Ἀθήνησι ξένους εἰσδέχεσθαι τοὺς βουλομένους τῶν Ἑλλήνων. There is also a statement in the scholium to Aristophanes' *Ranae*, 419 as follows: νόμος γὰρ ἦν τοὺς ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς Ἀθήνησι κατοικεῖν ἐθέλοντας εἰς πολίτας ἐνταῦθα χρόνον ὀλίγον διατρίψαντας ἐγγράφεσθαι. It is very doubtful whether this measure, which is characterized as a νόμος, not a ψήφισμα, was really in force in 405 B. C. The fact that metics, or permanent settlers, who enlisted in the Athenian navy before the battle of Arginusae in 406 B. C. were admitted to citizenship<sup>8</sup> indicates that this law was not in operation at that time, for if it had been, then the honor accorded the metics would have lacked significance. This reference also appears to refer to an early practice. Thucydides<sup>9</sup> attributes Attica's remarkable increase in population to the following reason: ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος οἱ πολέμῳ ἢ στάσει ἐκπίπτοντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους οἱ δυνατώτατοι ὡς βέβαιον ὃν ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ πολῖται γινόμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ μείζω ἔτι ἐποίησαν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν. Theseus in his desire to enlarge the city is said to have invited foreigners to Athens.<sup>10</sup> References are made to definite instances of the reception of foreigners.

6 See p. 22.

7 S. v. Περιθοῖδαι.

8 Diodor. xiii. 97.

9 1. 2.

10 Plut. *Thes.* 25.

The Thessalians, especially, were welcomed by Theseus.<sup>11</sup> Philaeus and Eurysaces, sons of Ajax, on being made Athenian citizens gave the island of Salamis to the Athenians.<sup>12</sup> Anaphlystus and Sphettus, the sons of Troezen, migrated to Attica and two demes were named after them.<sup>13</sup> Pityreus, a descendant of Ion, surrendered Epidauria to the Argives and migrated to Athens.<sup>14</sup> The descendants of Nestor having been expelled from Messenia went to Athens, where they gave their names to the houses of the Paeonids and Alcmaeonids. Melanthus even became king of the Athenians.<sup>15</sup> The Gephyraeans, who had come to Boeotia with Cadmus, were expelled by the Boeotians. They went to Athens and received citizenship there.<sup>16</sup> Whatever may be the value of these specific instances, they at least serve to indicate the character of the general practice. The Athenians granted citizenship freely in early times. Although we cannot determine whether the grants were based upon any exact conditions, yet the statement of Thucydides<sup>17</sup> leads to the inference that very many of the persons who received citizenship in early times were exiled Greeks who settled permanently at Athens.

Solon's law<sup>18</sup> provided for the granting of citizenship only to exiles and permanent settlers. The law was restrictive and narrowed the circle of eligible persons. The phrasing of the law shows this. First, the statement of the law is negative, not positive, and thus implies a limitation of the preceding custom—γενέσθαι πολίτας οὐ δίδωσι πλὴν τοῖς φεύγουσιν κτλ. Second, Plutarch adds this explanation to his statement of the regulation: τοῦτο δὲ ποιῆσαι φασιν αὐτὸν οὐχ οὕτως ἀπελαύνοντα τοὺς ἄλλους ὥς κατακαλούμενον Ἀθήναζε τούτους ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τῷ μεθέξειν τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ ἅμα

11 Suid. *loc. cit.*

12 Paus. i. 35. 2.

13 Paus. ii. 30. 9.

14 Paus. ii. 26. 2.

15 Paus. ii. 18. 7; Strabo ix. 1. 7.

16 Her. v. 57; Westermann, *op. cit.*, 30 f.

17 1. 2.

18 See p. 22.

πιστοὺς νομίζοντα τοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότας τὴν ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, τοὺς δ' ἀπολελοιπότας διὰ τὴν γνῶμην. The explanation that Solon did not intend to drive away the others implies that his regulation may have given that impression. Such an effect could have been produced only by the restriction of a previously existing custom. The law which preceded the Solonian was, therefore, a more general one. The ineligible οἱ ἄλλοι of Solon's law, who were neither exiles nor permanent settlers, had been eligible under the previous law. As has been seen, under the pre-Solonian laws of very early times others than exiles and permanent settlers were eligible. Consequently, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we may assume that the practice of early times continued to be followed until the time of Solon. In introducing a restrictive qualification, which admitted to citizenship only those aliens who, either through necessity or choice, were unattached to any country and who would, therefore, become adapted most quickly to Athenian institutions, Solon acted altogether in harmony with his policy of enforcing, in the case of the natives themselves, the law requiring Athenian birth on both the father's and the mother's side.

### Post-Solonian Period

The law which was introduced by Solon has already been discussed.<sup>19</sup> There are also the following references to another law: (1) καὶ γάρ τοι τότε (*ca.* 479 and 476 B. C.) μὲν οὕτω τίμιον ἦν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὸ γενέσθαι πολίταις παρ' ὑμῖν ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τυχεῖν τούτου τηλικαῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἀγάθ' ἤθελον ποιεῖν;<sup>20</sup> (2) ὁρῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς πολλάκις καὶ δούλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ ξένοις παντοδαποῖς πολιτεῖαν τε διδόντας καὶ εἰς χρήματα μεγάλας δωρειάς, οἳ ἂν ὑμᾶς φαίνωνται ποιοῦντές τι ἀγαθόν;<sup>21</sup> (3) καὶ Θεοδέκτης ἐν τῷ νόμῳ (*after* 368 B. C.) ὅτι πολίτας μὲν ποιεῖσθε τοὺς μισθοφόρους, οἷον Στράβακα καὶ Χαρίδημον, διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν;<sup>22</sup> (4) πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νόμος ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ κείμενος, μὴ ἐξεῖναι ποιήσασθαι

19 See p. 26.

20 Dem. 23. 200.

21 Andoc. 2. 23 (410 B. C.).

22 Aristot. *Rhet.* 1399b 2.

Ἀθηναῖον ὃν ἂν μὴ δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἄξιον ἢ γενέσθαι πολίτην;<sup>23</sup> (5) τιμήσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς αἷς προσήκει τοῦς εὐεργέτας καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους διὰ τε τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὰς τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίας.<sup>24</sup> The preceding references show that after the time of Solon various laws existed, by which citizenship was granted for three reasons, i. e., exile, permanent settlement to practice a trade, and ἀνδραγαθία εἰς τὸν δῆμον.

We shall next proceed to determine, as closely as possible, the chronological limits of these laws, using for this purpose all the evidence found in decrees of citizenship and in literary references to individual grants.

In the first place evidence of a general character is furnished by the formulae of motivation in decrees of citizenship. These formulae contain references in general, as well as in specific, terms to the reasons for the admission of the new citizens. An examination of the general expressions of motivation found in decrees of citizenship from the earliest to 100 B. C. makes clear the general character of the reasons for which citizenship was granted during this period, for, while these formulae vary in phraseology, all the decrees which contain a general motivation give as the reason for the grant the fact that the individual honored has manifested toward the state a quality which is variously designated as ἀρετή, εὖνοια, φιλοτιμία, φιλία, and ἀνδραγαθία. As these words appear to be used with no distinction of meaning, it follows that all the extant decrees of citizenship from the earliest (410/09 B. C.) to 100 B. C., in which a general reason is given, fall under the law of ἀνδραγαθία.<sup>25</sup>

23 [Dem.] 59. 89 (340 B. C.).

24 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 448, ll. 56-60 (318/7 B. C.). Cf. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 653 (287/6 B. C.).

25 The statement of the reason is not found, as a rule, in the clause which confers citizenship, yet it modifies it. Other honors, such as a vote of thanks or a crown, are generally granted together with citizenship and precede it in the statement of the motions; indeed the grant of citizenship is often contained in an amendment. As the reason is the same for all the honors conferred, it is stated either in the preamble to the motion or in the early part of the motion.

In many of the decrees the clause, ὡς πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὃ τι δύναται ἀγαθόν, is used synonymously with the clause, ὡς ἀγαθός ἐστι ἀνὴρ, and in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 448 ἀρετὴ is synonymous with εὐεργεσία. So ἀνδραγαθία πρὸς τὸν δῆμον was more than mere sentiment; it was manifested by an act of public service. We shall now examine all the specific reasons which are given in either inscriptional or literary sources for grants of citizenship from the earliest times to 100 B. C., in order to determine whether these reasons are εὐεργεσίαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον and whether or not they should be classed under the law of ἀνδραγαθία.

PLATAEANS. Toward the end of the sixth century B. C. the Plataeans, who were suffering at the hands of the Thebans, appealed for aid to Cleomenes and the Lacedaemonians, who happened to be in the neighborhood. Cleomenes refused aid and counseled them to turn to the Athenians. This the Plataeans did, and thus their friendship with Athens was established.<sup>26</sup> At the same time that the Athenians made the alliance with the Plataeans they granted them citizenship: (1) καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι [Ἀθηναῖοι] ἐβόηθουν ἡμῖν [Πλαταιεῦσιν] ἐναντία Θηβαίοις ὅτε ὑμεῖς [Λακεδαιμόνιοι] ἀπωκνεῖτε, καὶ προδοῦναι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐτι ἦν καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὓς εὖ παθὼν τις [ἡμεῖς] καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος προσηγάγετο ξυμμάχους καὶ πολιτείας μετέλαβεν;<sup>27</sup> (2) ἐγένεσθε [Πλαταιῆς] ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ, ὡς φατέ, Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι καὶ πολῖται.<sup>28</sup> The date of this grant of citizenship was 519 B. C. according to Thucydides<sup>29</sup> and Meyer,<sup>30</sup> or 509 B. C. according to Grote<sup>31</sup> and Macan.<sup>32</sup>

PERDICCAS. Perdicas, king (?) of Macedonia, was granted citizenship about 479 B. C. The grant and the reason for it are stated in Dem. 23. 200: καὶ πάλιν Περδικᾶ τῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βαρβάρου ποτ' ἐπιστρατεῖαν βασιλεύοντι Μακεδονίας, τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας ἐκ Πλαταιῶν τῶν βαρβάρων δια-

26 Her. vi. 108; Thuc. iii. 55.

27 Thuc. iii. 55.

28 *Ibid.*, 63.

29 *Ibid.*, 58.

30 *Gesch. d. Alterth.*, II, p. 780, sec. 478, n.

31 *History of Greece* (1869), IV, 94, n. 1.

32 Macan, *Herodotus* vi. 108, n.

φθείραντι καὶ τέλειον τἀτύχημα ποιήσαντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντ' ἀγώγιμον, ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ Περδίκκην, ᾧ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἐχθρὸς δι' ἡμᾶς ἀπεδέδεικτο, ἀλλὰ πολιτείαν ἔδωκεν μόνον. In another passage<sup>33</sup> the statement is made that Perdiccas was granted ἀτέλεια only. Because of this discrepancy and the fact that Alexander (498-454 B. C.), and not his son Perdiccas, was the king of Macedonia at the time of these events, the view is held that the names of Alexander and Perdiccas have been interchanged in this passage and that the reference to a grant of citizenship is an error on the part of Demosthenes.<sup>34</sup> However, F. A. Wolf<sup>35</sup> accepts the reading πολιτείαν on the ground that the speech *De re publica ordinanda* is not genuine.<sup>36</sup> And the view is held that the Perdiccas referred to may have been a Macedonian prince, vassal of King Alexander.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, although the identity of Perdiccas cannot be determined, the arguments against a grant of citizenship are not sufficient to reject it.

MENON. Menon of Pharsalus in Thessaly was granted citizenship about 476 B. C.<sup>38</sup> The grant and the reason for it are stated in Dem. 23. 199: ἐκείνοι [Ἀθηναῖοι] Μένωνι τῷ Φαρσαλίῳ, δώδεκα μὲν τάλαντ' ἀργυρίου δόντι πρὸς τὸν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι τῇ πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει πόλεμον, τριακοσίοις δ' ἱππεῦσι πενέσταις ἰδίοις βοηθήσαντι, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντ', αὐτὸν ἂν τις ἀποκτείνῃ, ἀγώγιμον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πολιτείαν ἔδωκεν καὶ ταύτην ἱκανὴν ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν. The services here mentioned were rendered in connection with the siege and capture of Eion on the Strymon.<sup>39</sup> This enterprise was the first military success of the Confederacy of Delos and it filled the Athenians with a justifiable feeling of self-confidence.<sup>40</sup> Herodotus<sup>41</sup> describes the brave defense made by the Persian

33 [Dem.] 13. 24.

34 Pauly-Wiss., I, 2, 1411, s. v. Alexandros.

35 *Proleg. ad Lept.*, p. lxxiv, n. 51.

36 Cf. Westermann, *op. cit.*, 36, n. 26.

37 H. Weil, *Les Harangues de Démosthène*, 453, ad ll. 11 f.

38 Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*<sup>2</sup>, II, 1, 65.

39 Weissenborn, *Hellenica*, 141, n. 22.

40 Beloch, *loc. cit.*; Thuc. i. 98; Plut. *Cim.* 7.

41 vii. 107.

commandant Boges and his final tragic self-destruction.<sup>42</sup>

POLYGNOTUS. "It has been conjectured with great probability that during his campaigns on the coast of Asia Minor Cimon had fallen under the influence of Ionian culture and artistic tendencies; and that when he had an opportunity for beautifying Athens with new buildings, he summoned artists from Ionia to his assistance—chief among them the painter Polygnotus."<sup>43</sup> If the opinion of Müller<sup>44</sup> is correct that the time of the arrival of Polygnotus at Athens is connected with the reduction of his native island Thasos, then he came to Athens in 463 B. C. After that he executed paintings in various public buildings which are assigned to Cimon. Because he did this work gratuitously Polygnotus was made an Athenian citizen: ἤτοι ἐπεὶ τὴν Ποικίλην στοὰν ἔγραψε προῖκα, ἥ ὡς ἕτεροι, τὰς ἐν τῷ Θησεΐῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀνακλείῳ γραφάς, ἱστορήκασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀρτέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ ζωγράφων καὶ Ἰόβας ἐν τοῖς περὶ γραφικῆς.<sup>45</sup> As Cimon was ostracized in 461 B. C., the grant should be placed between 463 and 461 B. C.

CARYSTION. In 440 B. C. war broke out between the Samians and the Milesians over the possession of Priene. When the Samians proved victorious, the Milesians appealed to Athens to settle the case by arbitration. However, the Samians refused to comply with the award; so the Athenians sent an expedition to the island, established a democratic government, and left a garrison. Then some of the Samians, who had fled to the mainland and had applied to the Persians for aid, crossed with seven hundred mercenaries to Samos by night, overthrew the Samian democracy and the Athenian garrison, and proclaimed open revolt against Athens. The Athenians immediately despatched a fleet to put down the revolt. As a Phoenician fleet was expected to come to the assist-

42 Menon's services are referred to in another passage ([Dem.] 13. 23), where the statement is made that he was rewarded with ἀτέλεια, not πολιτεία. For an explanation of this discrepancy see the case of Perdiccas on p. 27.

43 Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, 383 f.

44 *De Phidiae vita*, 7.

45 Harpoc. s. v. Πολύγνωτος. Cf. Suid. s. v. Πολύγνωτος.

ance of the Samians, Pericles sent part of his fleet to keep watch off the coast of Caria, while with the remaining forty-four ships he attacked and defeated the Samian fleet of seventy ships. He then blocked up the harbor and invested the city. Again, when apparently accurate news of the approach of the Phoenician fleet was received, Pericles sent half of his force to intercept it. The Phoenicians never appeared, but, while the Athenian fleet was thus divided, the Samians sailed out of the harbor and defeated the blockading squadron.

Carystion's connection with these events is given in the scholium to Aristophanes' *Vesp.* 283, as follows: τοῦτο δὲ μαθόντες, Σάμιοι μηχανήν τινα κατεσκεύασαν κατ' αὐτῶν, ἣν μαθόντες Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τινος Καρυστιῶνος ἐφυλάξαντο, καὶ Σαμίους μὲν κακῶς διέθηκαν. The Samians, having learned that Pericles had detached part of his force to attack the King,<sup>46</sup> planned a stratagem against the Athenians. The latter, being put on their guard by Carystion, worsted the Samians. Judging from the outcome of the encounter, the information of Carystion may be connected with the former of the two engagements mentioned above.<sup>47</sup> As a reward, besides other honors, citizenship was granted to Carystion: τὸν δὲ Καρυστιῶνα ἐτίμησαν [Ἀθηναῖοι] σφόδρα μετὰ τοῦ γένους, καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν πολιτείας ἡξίωσαν.<sup>48</sup>

SADOCUS. In 431 B. C. the Athenians, desiring to make an alliance with Sitalces king of Thrace, sent for Nymphodorus, a citizen of Abdera, who was a brother-in-law of Sitalces and had great influence with him. Nymphodorus came to Athens and conducted the negotiations. In connection with the alliance he secured Athenian citizenship for Sadocus, the son of Sitalces: τὸν Σιτάλκην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξύμμαχον ἐποιοῦντο, βουλόμενοι σφίσι τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία καὶ Περδίκκην ξυνεξελεῖν αὐτόν. ἐλθὼν τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Νυμφόδωρος τήν τε τοῦ Σιτάλκου ξυμμαχίαν ἐποίησε καὶ Σάδοκον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖον τὸν τε ἐπὶ Θράκης πόλεμον ὑπεδέ-

46 Cf. the "Phoenicians" in Thuc. i. 116.

47 Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, III, 1, 544, n. 7.

48 Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 283.

χετο καταλύσειν· πείσειν γὰρ Σιτάλκην πέμπειν στρατιὰν Θρακίαν Ἀθηναίοις ἱππέων τε καὶ πελταστῶν.<sup>49</sup>

PLATAEANS. Two years after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedaemonians invaded the territory of Plataea and summoned the city to surrender. But the Plataeans refused to break their alliance with Athens, and thereupon Archidamus laid siege to the city. After several months of vain endeavor to capture the place, the Lacedaemonians resorted to the slow process of starvation. After the city had been blockaded for more than a year and supplies had begun to fail, half of the garrison determined to make a break for liberty, a feat which they accomplished by scaling the walls of circumvallation under cover of darkness, piercing the lines of the enemy, and making good their escape to Athens.<sup>50</sup> The two hundred and twelve survivors of this heroic dash for liberty were granted Athenian citizenship in 428/7 B. C. The grant is mentioned in the speech *Against Neaera*, 104: τοῖς οὖν οὕτω φανερώς ἐνδεδειγμένοις τὴν εὖνοιαν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ προεμένοις ἅπαντα τὰ αὐτῶν καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, πάλιν σκοπεῖτε πῶς μετέδοτε τῆς πολιτείας. Although the Thebans destroyed the city and the fugitive Plataeans were without a native land, yet it is well to note that this fact was only the occasion, and not the reason, for the bestowal of citizenship upon them. The reason for their enfranchisement, as well as the cause of their banishment, was their εὖνοια toward the Athenian State, which was manifested by their act of giving up all that was dear to them rather than forsake the Athenians. Each Plataean had to prove εἰ [ἔστι] τῶν φίλων τῶν τῆς πόλεως,<sup>51</sup> and the speaker declares that they had shown themselves ὁμολογουμένως ἀρίστους τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὴν πόλιν.<sup>52</sup> The Plataeans were the only Greek people who had come to the assistance of Athens at Marathon; when Xerxes invaded Greece they had refused to abandon the Athenian alli-

49 Thuc. ii. 29.

50 Thuc. iii. 20-24.

51 [Dem.] 59. 105.

52 *Ibid.*, 107.

ance, half of them falling at Thermopylae, and half participating in the sea-fights at Artemisium and Salamis; they had fought against Mardonius in the battle of Plataea for the liberation of Greece; and they had brought suit successfully before the Amphictyonic Council against the Lacedaemonians for their presumption in inscribing upon the tripod at Delphi, which commemorated the joint victory of the confederate Greeks at Plataea and Salamis, verses which attributed this achievement to Pausanias, king of the Lacedaemonians, alone.<sup>53</sup>

CORINTHUS. In what is probably one of the earliest decrees of citizenship<sup>54</sup> a man by the name of Corinthus (?) is made and Athenian.<sup>55</sup> The reason given is: [ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός] ἐστὶν π[ερὶ 'Αθηναίους ποιῶν ὃ τι δύναται ἀγαθὸν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν στρατιάν τ]ῇν 'Αθηναί[ων καὶ ἀνθ'] ὧν εὖεργέτη-  
κεν]. Corinthus' services seem to have been of a military character, but it is impossible to determine exactly what they were. Kirchoff holds the view, accepted by Meyer,<sup>56</sup> that there is some connection between this decree and the statement of Thucydides<sup>57</sup> that in 421 B. C. the Corinthians, through the agency of the Boeotians, tried in vain to obtain for themselves the same truce with the Athenians which Athens had granted to Boeotia. However, this view is not probable, nor does the inscription offer anything in its favor.<sup>58</sup>

THRASYBULUS and APOLLODORUS. About September, 411 B. C., Phrynichus, one of the Four Hundred, was assassinated in the market-place not far from the senate-house. For their service to the Democracy the perpetrators, Thrasybulus a Calydonian and Apollodorus a Megarian, were made Athenians in 410/09 B. C.<sup>59</sup> The reason, as given in the decree for Thrasybulus, is: ἀντὶ ὧν εὖ πεπο[ίηκεν τὴν τε βουλὴν] καὶ τὸν δῆ[μον]

53 *Ibid.*, 94 ff.

54 *IG*, I, Suppl. 46a.

55 Wilhelm, *Mélanges Nicole*, 597 ff.

56 *Op. cit.*, IV, p. 478, sec. 636.

57 v. 32.

58 Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 598.

59 *IG*, I, 59.

τὸν Ἀθηναίω[ν], and the details are given fully by Thucydides,<sup>60</sup> Lysias,<sup>61</sup> Lycurgus,<sup>62</sup> and Plutarch.<sup>63</sup>

EVAGORAS. Evagoras, king of Salamis, was granted citizenship<sup>64</sup> before 405 B. C., for Isocrates,<sup>65</sup> after relating the flight of Conon to Cyprus, his meeting with Evagoras, and the warm friendship and community of interest which arose between them, states that both Conon and Evagoras felt very keenly the disaster at Aegospotami and that this feeling was natural, τῷ [Κόνωνι] μὲν γὰρ ἦν φύσει πατρίς [Ἀθῆναι], τὸν δὲ [Εὐαγόραν] διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας νόμῳ πολίτην ἐπεποίητο [Ἀθηναῖοι]. As Evagoras established himself in Cyprus about 410 B. C., the grant falls between that date and 405 B. C. *IG*, I, 64, to which Wilhelm<sup>66</sup> joins *IG*, I, Suppl. 116*w*, probably records this grant. Unfortunately the inscription is so badly broken that the exact services for which Evagoras was honored cannot be determined, although their general character is clear. The clause, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐσ[τι] ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον Εὐαγόρα]ς ὁ Σαλαμίνιο[ς καὶ πρόθυμος ὢν διατελεῖ ποιεῖν ὅ τ]ι δύναται ἀγαθ[όν], shows that he used his political power to the advantage of Athens, and Isocrates<sup>67</sup> states that the services thus rendered were πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας. His services during the early part of his reign must have been similar in character to those rendered between Aegospotami and Cnidus, which are better known. In general, the administration of Evagoras was characterized by leniency and moderation, and by remarkable material and intellectual progress. Athenian immigrants were invited to Salamis and

60 viii. 92.

61 13. 71 ff.

62 *In Leocr.* 112 ff.

63 *Alc.* 25. Several scholars (Szanto, Röhl, and Kirchoff) suppose that Apollodorus was deprived of his grant by a γραφή παρανόμων, but their arguments are not conclusive. Cf. Valetton, *Hermes*, XLIII (1908), 481-99. For further discussion of this case see pp. 14 ff.

64 *Ep. Phil.* 10.

65 9. 54.

66 *BphW*, XXII (1902), 1100.

67 *Loc. cit.*

Greek arts taught, so that in a few years great strides had been made. Furthermore, Evagoras endeavored to introduce Greek culture and naturally turned to Athens as its native source. Thus his relations with the Athenians became very intimate. The words τῶν ἀφικνουμένων<sup>68</sup> are probably part of a statement of the welcome accorded to Athenians who came to Evagoras' realm. Besides artisans, many Athenian refugees found an asylum in Cyprus from the time of the Sicilian disaster to the end of the war.<sup>69</sup> The King and Tissaphernes are also mentioned in the decree. At a later period Evagoras proved influential in securing the Persian aid which gained the battle of Cnidus. Before the date of our decree, also, he may have used his good offices in the interest of Athens at the court of the king of Persia.<sup>70</sup>

———. In 406 B. C., after Conon had been defeated by the Spartan admiral Callicratides, he was blockaded in the harbor of Mytilene. As the city was in no condition to withstand a siege, Conon sent in all haste to Athens for relief. The Athenians, fully realizing the seriousness of the situation, voted to send out one hundred and ten ships and to man them with all the slaves and freemen of military age. As a reward for enlisting, citizenship was given to metics and foreigners: Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐλαττώμασι περιπίπτοντες ἐποίησαντο πολίτας τοὺς μετοίκους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων τοὺς βουλομένους συναγωνίσασθαι<sup>71</sup>

SAMIANS. In 405 B. C. the Samians were made Athenians ἀντὶ ὧν εὖ πεποιήκασιν Ἀθηναίους καὶ νῦν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται καὶ ἐσηγοῦνται ἀγαθὰ.<sup>72</sup> The reason assigned is their present and past good services and proposals. The date of the decree enables us to determine the nature of these services. It was passed shortly after the battle of Aegospotami, when Lysander was reducing the cities of the Hellespont and adjacent islands. Every city sub-

68 IG, I, 64, l. 6.

69 Cf. Isoc. 9. 51.

70 Paus. i. 3. 1; Wilhelm, *Mélanges Nicole*, 602.

71 Diodor. xiii. 97.

72 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 1, ll. 11 f.

mitted except Samos. The Samians had already sent an embassy to Athens, and at the time of this decree another was present, having come with proposals of alliance between the two states.

The former services of Samos were also probably connected with the Peloponnesian war. The great disaster which befell Athenian arms at Syracuse afforded her allies an admirable opportunity to assert their independence. Euboea, Lesbos, and Chios opened negotiations with Sparta; Miletus and other cities joined the movement. The King and Tissaphernes concluded an alliance with the Lacedaemonians and their allies. At this dark period of Athenian affairs Samos proved an invaluable friend. The people of that island overthrew the ruling oligarchy, which contemplated joining the revolt, and became faithful allies of the Athenians.<sup>73</sup> Throughout the rest of the war Samos was of the utmost importance to Athens as a naval base in her operations in Ionia and the Asiatic side of the Aegean Sea. The service of the Samian demos to the cause of democracy during the regime of the Four Hundred is well known. When news of the revolution at Athens reached the Athenian arament at Samos, a great democratic assembly was convened, at which Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus bound over all the soldiers, and especially those who had previously been adherents of the oligarchical party, to maintain a democratic government, to live in harmony, to push the war against the Peloponnesians energetically, to be enemies of the Four Hundred, and to enter into no friendly communication with them. Furthermore, all the Samians of military age took the same oath and henceforth united with the Athenians of the fleet for whatever issue, feeling a common danger from the Four Hundred at Athens and the enemy at Miletus.<sup>74</sup> The services of the Samians were, therefore, of a political and military character.

EUMACHUS. In the decree granting citizenship to the Samians Eumachus, one of the Samian ambassadors,

<sup>73</sup> Thuc. viii. 21; *IG*, I, 56.

<sup>74</sup> Thuc. viii. 75.

is praised by name, together with the other members of the embassy collectively, ὡς οὖσιν ἀνδράσιν [ἀγαθοῖς περὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους].<sup>75</sup> He was, of course, included in the grant of citizenship, as is shown by the phrase, [καλέσαι δ' Εὐμ.] αχον ἐ[πὶ δ] εἰπνον ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον [ἐς αὐρίον].<sup>76</sup> He was made an Athenian for the same general reason which applied to the rest of the Samians, and he was specially mentioned because he was the bearer of proposals of alliance with Athens.

POSES. In a subsequent decree<sup>77</sup> for the Samians Poses is individually honored. Like Eumachus Poses had been included in the former grant of citizenship to the Samians; in confirmation it is here decreed that [κύρια εἶναι τὰ ἐψηφισμένα πρότε]ρον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων. Poses is called an ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ Ἀθηναίους and high honors are voted him ἀνθ' ὧν [εὖ πεποίηκε τὸν δῆμον]. The specific services of Poses are not known, but he may have been connected with the Samian embassy which is mentioned in this connection as requesting the co-operation of the Athenians in a mission to Sparta.

HERACLIDES. About 423 B. C. Epilycus, the uncle of Andocides, as ambassador of Athens made a treaty with Darius II. The embassy, having returned to Athens, reported that Heraclides, a Clazomenian, had co-operated heartily with them and had aided materially in securing the truce with the King. He was voted many honors for his general friendliness toward the Athenian State and for his services to the Athenian ambassadors: [ἐπειδὴ εὖ ἐποίησεν τὰς Ἀθηναίων πρεσβείας καὶ ἐν πᾶσι ἀ]νὴρ ἐστὶ ἀγαθ[ὸς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθη]ναίων. — — — ἐ[πειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ π]αρὰ βασιλέως ἦκ[οντες ἀγγέλλουσι Ἡρακ]λείδην συμπράτ[τειν αὐτοῖς προθύμως] ἔ[ς τε τὰς σπονδὰς [τὰς πρὸς βασι]λέα ἔς τε ἄ]λλο ὃ τι ἐπαγγέ[λειαν].<sup>78</sup> Heraclides then moved to Athens where he was granted citizenship after 403

<sup>75</sup> IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 1 (405/4 B. C.), II. 36 f.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., II. 37 f.

<sup>77</sup> IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 1 (403/2 B. C.).

<sup>78</sup> IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 8; Köhler, *Hermes*, XXVII (1892), 77.

B. C.,<sup>79</sup> and not long before 391 B. C.<sup>80</sup> This last recognition he owed to his former services and also to the fact that he, like other strangers, actively supported the Democratic party against the Thirty.<sup>81</sup>

EUCLES. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 678 (276/5 B. C.) contains the clause, ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν κήρυκα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Εὐκλῆ[ν] Φιλοκλέους Τρινημειᾶ. The presence of the deme-name shows that the Eucles here mentioned was an Athenian citizen. His great-great-grandfather, Eucles, was honored by a decree passed after the restoration of the Democracy in 403 B. C.<sup>82</sup> A grant of πρόσδος in this decree shows that at that time Eucles was not an Athenian citizen.<sup>83</sup> Therefore one of the family received a grant of citizenship. We have cited this case under the name of Eucles the elder, because, whichever one of the family received the grant of citizenship, it was based upon his services. Eucles the elder was made herald of the senate and granted other honors, ἀνδραγαθίας [ἔνεκα καὶ προθυμίας], ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐγένετο περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν χάθ[οδον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν],<sup>84</sup> and later, when his son Philocles was appointed herald of the senate, one reason given was, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς [ἐγένετο ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Φιλοκλέους περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν χάθοδον τοῦ δήμου].<sup>85</sup> In recognition of the services of Eucles the elder toward the restoration of the Democracy, either Eucles himself or one of his descendants received Athenian citizenship, and was admitted to the deme Τρινημεία.

THESSALIANS and ANDRIANS. In 399 B. C. Andocides defended himself on a charge of impiety. In making his final plea, when contrasting the penalty which his accusers wished to impose upon him, a native Athenian, with the honors which the Athenians bestowed

79 Köhler, *op. cit.*, 76.

80 Wilamowitz, *Aristot. u. Athen*, I, 188, n. 4.

81 Köhler, *loc. cit.*

82 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 145.

83 Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 117, n. 1.

84 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 145, ll. 4-8.

85 *Ibid.*, ll. 14-16.

upon persons who had no claim upon the state, he says: μὴ βούλεσθε Θετταλοὺς καὶ Ἀνδρίους πολίτας ποιεῖσθαι δι' ἀπορίαν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ ὄντας πολίτας ὁμολογουμένως, οἷς προσήκει ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἶναι καὶ βουλόμενοι δυνήσονται, τούτους δὲ ἀπόλλυτε.<sup>86</sup> The scarcity of men which is given as the reason for the enfranchisement of Thessalians and Andrians was the result of losses suffered during the Peloponnesian war. At the close of this war there were at least fifteen thousand fewer citizens than at its beginning,<sup>87</sup> and many new citizens were admitted to increase the number.

STHORUS. Sthorus, a Thasian seer, was granted citizenship in 394/3 B. C.<sup>88</sup> The part of the inscription which contains what appears to be the specific reason is damaged, but reference is made to the battle of Cnidus; and in the decree of the senate providing for the erection of two stelai the statement is made, [ὅτι πρόθυμός]ς ἐστι ποιεῖν ὃ τι δύνάται [ἀγαθὸν τὴν στρατιάν]. That he had furnished money for military purposes may be inferred from the motion, τοὺς δὲ [στ]ρατηγούς τοὺς [ἐνθ]άδε ἀποδοῦνα[ι αὐτῷ τὸν μι]σθ[ὸν ὃ]σομπερ πέρυ[σι]ν ἔφερε.<sup>89</sup> Somewhat later, in 390/89 B. C., Sthorus is mentioned, in connection with an embassy from Thasos, in a decree<sup>90</sup> which deals with the restoration of the alliance between Thasos and Athens.

STRABAX and POLYSTRATUS. Aristotle<sup>91</sup> quotes the statement of Theodectas that Strabax was granted citizenship. As Polystratus was honored with Strabax,<sup>92</sup> he very probably received the same distinction. Both were honored διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν,<sup>93</sup> and, as they were honored on the recommendation of Iphicrates, their services were of a military character. Polystratus is mentioned by Demosthenes<sup>94</sup> as a commander of mercenary troops in

86 Andoc. 1. 149.

87 Busolt, Müller, *Hdb. d. kl. Altertumswiss.*, IV, 1, 1, 199.

88 *IG*, II<sup>3</sup>, 17.

89 *Ibid.*, II. 26-28.

90 *IG*, II<sup>3</sup>, 24.

91 *Rhet.* 1399b 2.

92 *Dem.* 20. 84.

93 *Aristot. loc. cit.*

94 4. 24.

the Corinthian war. And concerning Strabax, F. A. Wolf says:<sup>95</sup> "Strabax et ipse de commendatione Iphicratis ornatus videri potest Iphicratis in eodem bello adiutor fuisse." The year when Strabax and Polystratus were granted citizenship may have been 390 B. C., when a bronze statue was erected in honor of Iphicrates as a reward for his services in annihilating a Spartan *mora* at Corinth.<sup>96</sup>

PASION and APOLLODORUS. Pasion, a banker and resident of Athens, was admitted to citizenship between 390 and 370 B. C., διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν.<sup>97</sup> His services to the state are summed up by his son Apollodorus, when he says to the Athenian jury: οὐμὸς ὑμῖν πατὴρ χιλίας ἔδωκεν ἀσπίδας, καὶ πολλὰ χρήσιμον αὐτὸν παρέσχε, καὶ πέντε [τριήρεις] ἐθελοντῆς ἐπιδούς καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πληρώσας ἐτριηράρχησε τριηραρχίας.<sup>98</sup> The good services for which he was enfranchised took the form of contributions to the state. He was quite able to do this for he was a man of means. His landed property was valued at twenty talents, and in addition to that he had money of his own lent at interest, amounting to more than fifty talents.<sup>99</sup>

ARCHIPPUS and HIPPARCHUS. In IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 25 (390/89-387/6 B. C.) citizenship is granted to two brothers, Archippus and Hipparchus, natives of Thasos. They were honored ἀνδραγαθίας ἐν[εκα] τῆς ἐς Ἀθηναίους. The specific service rendered by them at this time cannot be determined, but it was probably of a political character, if one may judge from a previous decree passed in their honor.<sup>100</sup> This decree relates to the restoration of the alliance between the Athenians and the Thasians. In 389 B. C. Thrasybulus settled matters in Thrace and the Hellespont, and in 388 B. C. Thasos was

95 *Ad Dem. loc. cit.*

96 Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5. 10 ff.; [Dem.] 13. 22; Aeschines 3. 243.

97 Kirchner, *Pros. Att.*, II, No. 11672; [Dem.] 59. 2; 46. 15; Dem. 36. 47.

98 Dem. 45. 85.

99 Dem. 36. 5, 43, 44.

100 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 24 (390/89 B. C.).

under Athenian control.<sup>101</sup> From mention of an embassy of the Thasians in the decree<sup>102</sup> it seems that Archippus and Hipparchus were leaders of the embassy which negotiated the alliance at Athens.

COTYS. Cotys, king of Thrace, received Athenian citizenship δῆλον ὡς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον εὖνουν ἡγούμενοι καὶ φίλον.<sup>103</sup> The grant must have been made between 382 B. C., the year of the accession of Cotys to the throne, and 365 B. C., after which year he became an open enemy of Athens. He was honored probably for giving the Athenians political and commercial favors, and perhaps for allowing them territorial privileges. During this period the Athenian general Iphicrates was in the service of Cotys and attained great distinction among the Thracians, receiving the king's daughter in marriage and being granted a seaport village near the mouth of the Hebrus, where he established a Greek colony. Iphicrates was in an excellent position to make Cotys a friend of Athens.

DIONYSIUS I and his sons DIONYSIUS and HERMOCRITUS. Dionysius, the king of Sicily, and his two sons were granted citizenship by a decree passed in 369/8 B. C.<sup>104</sup> They were thus honored ὅτι εἰσὶν ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες] [περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν [Ἀθηναίων καὶ] τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ βοηθ[οῦσιν τῇ βασι]λεύῳ εἰ[ρή]νῃ ἣν ἐποίησα[ντο Ἀθηναῖοι] καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι] κα[ὶ] οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες]. Although Dionysius had formerly taken the side of the Spartans, since the alliance between the latter and the Athenians against the Thebans in 370/69 B. C. he had become reconciled to the Athenians.<sup>105</sup> An embassy had come to Athens bearing a letter which dealt with: (1) the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, which had been thrown down by an earthquake in 373 B. C.; (2) the peace. Xeno-

101 Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 7.

102 Fr. a, l. 12 and b, l. 16.

103 Dem. 23. 118.

104 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 103.

105 Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1. 20, 28; Diodor. xv. 20.

phon<sup>106</sup> says that in the summer of 368 B. C. the Thebans, the allies, and the Lacedaemonians assembled at Delphi to consider means of restoring peace.<sup>107</sup> Xenophon and Diodorus both represent Philiscus of Abydos as the originator of the convention, the former representing him as the agent of Ariobarzanes, the latter of Artaxerxes. It appears from this inscription, however, that Dionysius also was instrumental in promoting measures of peace. The motivation of the grant takes into consideration Dionysius' present efforts to restore peace on the basis of the King's Peace, and his proposals concerning the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi.

ASTYCRATES. Astycrates, a Delphian, was granted citizenship in 363/2 B. C.<sup>108</sup> The reason assigned is as follows: [ἐπειδὴ] Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Θετταλὸς [ἱερομνημονῶν] παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τῶν Ἀ[μ]φ[ικτιόνων καὶ] τοὺς Δελφῶν εἰσήγαγεν ἀ[εἰφυγίαν κατ'] Ἀστυκράτους καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ὥστε φυγαδεῦσαι Ἀστυκράτην καὶ [τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ] καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο. In 363 B. C. Thebes was supreme in Northern Greece. At the spring meeting of the Amphictyonic Council certain motions were introduced, apparently by the members of the Boeotian league, which were disadvantageous to the Phocians. It is very probable that the Thebans attempted to make the Amphictyonic Council subserve their own political purposes. The Phocians were decidedly opposed to the supremacy of Thebes and it may be that they declined to follow the Boeotians against Alexander of Pherae.<sup>109</sup> At any rate the Phocians were supported by the minority of the Council, represented by Astycrates and his ten associates, who became so unruly that the Council banished them. They sought refuge at Athens, where they were kindly received. Citizenship was granted to Astycrates.<sup>110</sup>

PHORMIO. Phormio, a freedman of Pasion the banker and a resident of Athens, was made an Athenian

106 *Hell.* vii. 1. 27.

107 Cf. Diodor. xv. 70.

108 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 109.

109 Pomtow, *Klio*, VI (1906), 95.

110 *Ibid.*, 94.

citizen in 361/0 B. C.<sup>111</sup> In Dem. 36. 56 the defendant calls upon the clerk to read ὅσα δημοσίᾳ χρήσιμος τῇ πόλει γέγον' οὐτοσί [Φορμίων], and in Dem. 45. 81 Apollodorus charges Phormio with πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων σαυτῷ κτησάμενος. Phormio's wealth had enabled him to acquire citizenship by making contributions to the state. Apollodorus explains<sup>112</sup> how his father Pasion had taught Phormio reading and writing, instructed him in his trade, and put a large property under his management, so that he became wealthy. The hard times which prevailed before 362/1 B. C. may have given Phormio his opportunity. As the result of maritime disasters the stock of grain was becoming short and the price was rising, not merely at Athens, but at many islands in the Aegean, and at Byzantium and other places. Great competition arose in importation. The Byzantines, Chalcedonians, and Cyzicenes had already begun to detain the passing grain ships for the supply of their own markets. Convoys out of the Euxine were necessary. Then in 361/0 B. C. Cotys surprised Sestus and established toll-gatherers.<sup>113</sup> As Phormio was engaged in trade with the Hellespont, perhaps his services were rendered in connection with the grain scarcity of this period.

PYTHO and HERACLIDES. Pytho and Heraclides of Aenus were granted citizenship about 360 B. C.<sup>114</sup> for the following reason: ἀλλ' ὁμῶς, ἐπειδὴ πονηρὸς καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς ἦν [Κότυς] καὶ μεγάλ' ὑμᾶς ἠδίκηι, τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας ἐκείνον Πύθωνα καὶ Ἡρακλείδην, τοὺς Αἰνίους, πολίτας ἐποιήσασθ' ὥς εὐεργέτας καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις ἐστεφανώσατε.<sup>115</sup> Having assassinated Cotys, Pytho, at least, fled to Athens ὅτε... οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγεῖτ' ἀπελθεῖν ὅποι τύχοι, and asked for citizenship.<sup>116</sup> It was safe to go to Athens because there he could expect to receive protection and honor in return for his service.

111 [Dem.] 46. 13.

112 Dem. 45. 72.

113 Dem. 23. 136, 211.

114 Beloch, *op. cit.*, II, 303.

115 Dem. 23. 119.

116 *Ibid.*, 127.

LEUCON. Leucon (387-347 B. C.), the first of the line of Bosporic princes to whom it is certain that citizenship was granted, was made an Athenian before 355/4 B. C.,<sup>117</sup> the year of Demosthenes' speech *Against Leptines*. Demosthenes, immediately after mentioning the grant, recounts the services of Leucon to Athens, services upon which his grant of citizenship, as well as his other honors, was based. "Now, whilst our other benefactors have each made themselves useful to us for a particular period, Leucon, as you will find, never ceases to confer benefits upon us, and such benefits as our country stands most in need of. You are of course aware that we consume more foreign grain than any people in the world. But the grain which comes in from the Euxine equals the whole quantity that comes from other markets; and no wonder, not only because that district has an abundance of grain, but because Leucon, who reigns there, has granted exemption from duty to those who export to Athens, and issues an order that merchants bound for our port shall load their vessels first. Having the exemption for himself and his children, he has given it to all of you. Observe what an important thing it is. He takes a thirtieth from all who export grain from his dominions. Now, the measures of grain that come from his country are about four hundred thousand, as one may see from the entry kept by the grain importers. Therefore, for the three hundred thousand he gives ten thousand and for the one hundred thousand about three thousand. And so far is he from depriving our commonwealth of this boon, that when he made a new harbor at Theodosia, which the mariners say is not at all inferior to Bosporus, he gave us the exemption there also. Many other instances which I could mention of benefits conferred upon you by this prince and his ancestors I pass by; but the year before last, when there was a scarcity among all men, he sent you not only a plentiful supply of

117 Dem. 20. 30.

grain, but at such a price that there was a surplus of fifteen talents in the hands of Callisthenes."<sup>118</sup>

This grant is one of a number which are connected with commercial treaties and are based upon economic reasons. Most important among them are grants to persons who lived in the neighborhood of the Hellespont. They show us how necessary it was for the grain supply of Athens that this avenue of commerce be kept open and that friendly relations be maintained with the nations which inhabited grain-producing countries. The Tauric Chersonese was one of the chief granaries of Athens. This region had been opened up to Greek trade by the Milesians, who planted colonies on both sides of the Euxine Sea. At the time of the maritime supremacy of Athens her merchants gained control of the trade with the Pontus. In exchange for wines, and manufactures such as armor, cloth, leather, hardware, earthenware, sculpture, jewelry, etc., the Athenians brought back grain, salt fish, honey, wax, wool, hides, fleeces, timber, and slaves. The relations between Athens and the princes who ruled this territory covered many years and were of the most friendly character.

CERSOUBLEPTES, TERES, CHARIDEMUS, and EUDERCES. In his letter<sup>119</sup> to the Athenians Philip states that decrees have been passed commanding him to let Teres and Cersobleptes rule in Thrace because they are Athenians. There are numerous references to the citizenship of Charidemus.<sup>120</sup> Demosthenes<sup>121</sup> connects the citizenship of Charidemus with Cersobleptes: ὑμεῖς ἐποιήσασθ' ἐν τισι καιροῖς καὶ χρόνοις Ἀριοβαρζάνην πολίτην καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον Φιλίσκον, ὥσπερ νῦν διὰ Κερσοβλέπτην Χαρίδημον, and again,<sup>122</sup> referring to the honors of Cersobleptes, Demosthenes states that both Charidemus and Euderces<sup>123</sup> were associated with him in these honors: "And on this

118 Quotations in English from Demosthenes are taken from Kennedy's translation.

119 *Ep. Phil.* 8.

120 *Dem.* 23. 65, 145, 151; *Aristot. Rhet.* 1399b 2-3.

121 23. 141.

122 *Ibid.*, 203.

123 Of Euderces nothing further is known.

last occasion, when they were for giving such honors as they thought fit to Cersobleptes, and were intent upon that object, they associate with him two persons, one of whom has done all the mischief that you have heard, and the other, a man named Euderces, no one knows anything about." All three were granted citizenship in connection with the same events. The time of the grant to Cersobleptes falls between 360 B. C., the year in which Cersobleptes succeeded his father, and 352 B. C., the year of Demosthenes' speech *Against Aristocrates*. Charidemus was honored διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν<sup>124</sup> and ὥς εὐεργέτης.<sup>125</sup> As a mercenary general in Thrace Charidemus was often in the service of Athens, being especially prominent in the relations between Athens and the Thracian princes. After the death of Cotys Cersobleptes was opposed by two aspirants for shares in the kingdom, Berisades and Amadocus. After several years of unsuccessful effort on the part of Athens to bring the rival claimants to an agreement, the Athenians sent out a mercenary force which finally brought the recalcitrant princes to terms. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 126 records this agreement of 357/6 B. C. The decree deals with the relations of the Greek states on the Thracian coasts to the Thracian princes and to Athens. The kingdom of Thrace was divided among the three princes, Cersobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus. The Athenians apparently bound themselves to see that the Thracian princes regularly received the tribute of certain states due them; while the Thracian princes promised help to the Athenians in case the states leagued with them, to whom, in accordance with the agreement of alliance of 378 B. C., freedom and independence were assured, should fall away from the Athenian league.<sup>126</sup> In carrying out this agreement Charidemus, who was in the service of Cersobleptes, surrendered to Athens the Chersonese, including Sestus. It was very probably in con-

124 Aristot. *loc. cit.*

125 Dem. 23. 145.

126 Höck, *Hermes*, XXVI (1891), 105.

nection with these events that the Athenians honored Cersobleptes, Charidemus, and Euderces.

**ORONTES.** Orontes, satrap of Mysia, was granted citizenship in 349/8 B. C.<sup>127</sup> An exchange of embassies is mentioned in the decree. The friendly attitude of Orontes at the present time and in the past is given as the reason for the grant, while references are made to money for grain, support for armies, and agreements between Athens and Orontes. In 354 B. C., when there was talk of a Persian invasion of Greece, the Athenians resolved, in case of any aggression on the part of the King, to invite Philip and the other Greeks to oppose him.<sup>128</sup> Since then the situation had changed essentially. Philip, not Persia, threatened Athens. He began the siege of Olynthus in 350 B. C. At this critical time Athens sought aid in the East. Orontes, who had revolted from the King in 362/1 B. C., had again become reconciled to him. The Athenians concluded an agreement with Orontes about their mutual relations, and at the same time granted him citizenship.

**SPARTOCUS III and PAERISADES I.** A decree of 347/6 B. C.<sup>129</sup> grants to Spartocus and Paerisades, sons of Leucon, τὰς δωρεῖας αἷς [ὁ δῆμ.]ος ἔδωκε Σατύρῳ καὶ Λεύκωνι. As citizenship was one of the gifts which Leucon, and incidentally his sons, had received, it must be included in the honors voted specifically to his sons in this decree upon their own merit. In 347 B. C., shortly before this time, Spartocus and Paerisades had succeeded to the kingdom of their father Leucon. They then sent ambassadors to Athens to arrange for the settlement of a debt owed them by the Athenians, and to enlist at Athens men to man their ships.<sup>130</sup> It was upon this occasion that the decree was passed. Citizenship was granted to them, [ἐπ]ε[ι] δὲ [τὰ]ς δω[ρεῖ]ας διδόναι Ἀθηναῖοι[ς] αἷσ]περ Σ[άτ]υ[ρ]ος καὶ Λεύκων ἔδοσαν,<sup>131</sup> especially for favors

127 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 207.

128 *Ep. Phil.* 8.

129 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 212.

130 *Ibid.*, ll. 53-55.

131 *Ibid.*, ll. 20-22.

shown in connection with the grain trade: ὅτι — — — ἐπ[αγ]γέλλονται τῷ δήμῳ [τ]ῷ Ἀ[θ]ην[α]ίων ἐπιμε[λ]ήσεσθαι τῆς ἐκ[π]ομπῆς τοῦ [σ]ίτ[ο]υ καθάπερ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῶν ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ ὁ [π]ηρετήσειν προθύμως ὅτου ἂν ὁ δῆμ[ος] δ[έ]η[τα].<sup>132</sup>

CALLIAS and TAUROSTHENES. The brothers Callias and Taurosthenes, Chalcidians, received citizenship upon the motion of Demosthenes.<sup>133</sup> The grant was made after 343/2 B. C., the time of the alliance between Athens and Chalcis,<sup>134</sup> and before 340 B. C., the date of Philip's letter to the Athenians.

In 341 B. C. Euboea was divided in its sympathy toward Philip and Athens, Oreus and Eretria being in the hands of Philip's friends, while Chalcis, through the influence of Callias and Taurosthenes, had formed an alliance with Athens. After an Athenian embassy had arranged a plan of campaign with the Chalcidians, a military expedition was sent to Euboea against Oreus and Eretria.<sup>135</sup> The expedition was successful in liberating both cities. In the campaign against Oreus, especially, Callias and Taurosthenes took a leading part.<sup>136</sup> Later a Euboic synod in alliance with Athens was established, with headquarters at Chalcis. Callias was the most important man in this synod, taking the lead both as a friend of Athens and as an enemy of Philip. He went so far as to cross the strait to the Bay of Pagasae, where he captured a number of towns and vessels, selling the crews of the latter into slavery. "On account of these services," says Philip to the Athenians, "you praised him frequently in your decrees."<sup>137</sup> Citizenship was probably one of the honors then conferred upon Callias and his brother.<sup>138</sup>

132 *Ibid.*, ll. 13-17.

133 Aeschines 3. 85; Din. 1. 44; Hyper. 5. 20.

134 Schaefer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, II, 423.

135 Dem. 18. 79.

136 Schaefer, *op. cit.*, II, 491, n. 1.

137 *Ep. Phil.* 5.

138 Schol. Aeschines 3. 85: καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πολίτας αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὸ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ποιήσασθαι ὑφ' αὐτούς.

PHILIP. Plutarch,<sup>139</sup> in commenting on the impropriety of the joy manifested by the Athenians at the news of Philip's death, disapproves of their conduct for this reason: πρὸς γὰρ τῷ νεμεσητῷ καὶ ἀγεννές, ζῶντα μὲν τιμᾶν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην, πεσόντος δ' ὑπ' ἐτέρου μὴ φέρειν τὴν χώραν μετρίως, ἀλλ' ἐπισκιρτᾶν τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ παιωνίζειν, ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας. Demades<sup>140</sup> says: ἔγραψα καὶ Φιλίππῳ τιμάς· οὐκ ἄρνούμαι. The honors proposed by Demades probably included the grant of citizenship. The reason he assigns fixes the occasion: δισχιλίους γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων καὶ χίλια πολιτῶν σώματα χωρὶς κήρυκος καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἄνευ πρεσβείας λαβὼν ὑμῖν ταῦτ' ἔγραψα. ἐπέληπτο δὲ τῆς γραφούσης χειρὸς οὐχ ἡ δωροδοκία τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς οὔτοι πλαττόμενοι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ χρεία καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρον καὶ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως φιλανθρωπία. ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐχθρὸς τῶν ἀγώνων φίλος ἐχωρίσθη, τὸ τῶν νενικηκότων ἄθλον τοῖς σφαλεῖσι προσθείς. This passage refers to the events which followed Chaeronea. Athens was filled with consternation. The Athenians knew what to expect from such a man as Philip, and the punishment which he meted out to Thebes seemed to presage the realization of their worst expectations. However Philip surprised them by agreeing to peace and making the concessions which Demades enumerates. Plutarch speaks of Philip's treatment of the Athenians as lenient, and Polybus<sup>141</sup> praises Philip's magnanimity in these words: "When he had defeated the Athenians in the fight of Chaeronea, Philip obtained much more by his humane and gentle conduct after the victory, than he had gained by his arms. For by these he subdued indeed the enemies that were in arms against him; but by his gentleness and moderation he vanquished all the Athenians, and forced Athens itself to receive his laws. Instead of making his resentment the rule and means of his conquests, he, on the contrary,

139 *Dem.* 22.

140 1. 9. Cf. *Anab.* i. 1. 3; Clement Alex. *Admonit. ad Gent.* 36b.

141 v. 10. Cf. Diodor. fr. lib. xxxii.

pursued his victories no longer than till he had found a fair occasion to display his clemency and his love of virtue."<sup>142</sup>

ALEXANDER. Alexander, the son of Philip, was also admitted to citizenship upon the occasion referred to above. The reason which applied to Philip's case applies here also: καταπολεμήσαντος Ἀθηναίου ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ Φιλίππου, πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἀθήναζε ἤλθον περὶ εἰρήνης . . . ὅθεν ἡ πόλις ἐδέξατο [τὴν εἰρήνην] καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰς πολίτας ἐνέγραψεν.<sup>143</sup> After Chaeronea, when the bones of the dead were carried back to Athens, Alexander went along as one of Philip's representatives to treat with Athens concerning peace.<sup>144</sup>

CARPHINAS and PHORMIO. A decree of the year 338/7 B. C.<sup>145</sup> renewed, in the case of two Acarnanian brothers, Carphinas and Phormio, a grant of citizenship which had formerly been made to their grandfather Phormio. The reason is given as follows: ἐπειδὴ Φορμίων καὶ Καρ[φί]νας ὄντες πατρό[θεν φίλ]οι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων διαφυλάττουσιν [τὴν εὖ]νοιαν ἣν οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν πρὸς [τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ νυνὶ βοηθήσαντ[ες μ]ετὰ δ[υνά-μ]εως συνκατετάττοντό μετὰ Ἀθηναίω[ν] κ[αθ]ὼτι ὁ [στ]ρατηγὸς παραγγέ[λ]λοι. The Acarnanians had been faithful allies of the Athenians since the conclusion of an alliance between them at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.<sup>146</sup> The battle of Chaeronea (Aug. 338) had been fought only a half year before the passing of this decree (May 337). The military services of Carphinas and Phormio to Athens were no doubt rendered in this engagement. Acarnania did not send a force, but individuals, friends of the Athenians, seem to have come voluntarily to their aid. After the battle of Chaeronea Philip subdued Acarnania and banished the partisans of

142 Hampton's translation.

143 Schol. Aristid. *Panath.* p. 178, 16. Cf. Schaefer, *op. cit.*, III, 32, n. 1.

144 Justin ix. 4. 5.

145 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 237.

146 Thuc. ii. 68.

Athens.<sup>147</sup> Carphinas and Phormio then came to Athens for safety and were admitted to citizenship.

———. Two persons whose names are unknown, an Epidamnian and an Apollonian, were granted citizenship in 331/0 B. C.<sup>148</sup> The reason given is: ἐπ[ειδὴ ..... Ἀ]γῆνος Ἐπιδάμ[νιος καὶ ..... Ἡγ]ελόχου Ἀπολλ[ωνιάτης εὖνοί εἰσι]ν τῷ δῆμῳ τ[ῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐπι]μελοῦνται τ[ῶν ἀφικνουμένων Ἀθ]ήνηθεν καὶ π[έρυσιν .....] ἀνεδέξατο, T[..... πεμφ]θέντα ὑπὸ Ἀπ[ολλωνιατῶν ἐπὶ τὰς] ναῦς τὰς Ἀθην[αίων]. "The decree refers to the reception accorded certain ambassadors from Athens at Epidamnus and Apollonia, and commends the good-will shown them by two citizens, one of Epidamnus, and the other of Apollonia."<sup>149</sup>

CHAEREPHILUS, PHIDON, PAMPHILUS, and PHIDIPPUS. Chaerephilus and his three sons were granted citizenship about 325 B. C.<sup>150</sup> and enrolled in the deme Paeania.<sup>151</sup> The reason is given by Athenaeus:<sup>152</sup> τοσαύτην δ' Ἀθηναῖοι σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τὸ τάριχος, ὥς καὶ πολίτας ἀναγράφαι τοὺς Χαιρεφίλου τοῦ ταριχοπώλου υἱούς. Chaerephilus and his sons were merchants at Athens, and famous as importers of salt fish from the Pontus. The statement that they were enfranchised because the Athenians were so fond of salt fish is to be explained by the fact that at a time when there was great scarcity at Athens (326/5 B. C.)<sup>153</sup> Chaerephilus had made large distributions of salt fish.

HARPALUS. Harpalus, the Macedonian treasurer of Alexander, was granted citizenship shortly before 325/4 B. C.<sup>154</sup> Harpalus had given to Charicles, the son-in-law of Phocion, the contract for erecting in Attica a monument in honor of Pythionica, his mistress, together

147 Schaefer, *op. cit.*, III, 51.

148 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 350.

149 Ferguson, *Athenian Secretaries*, 40.

150 *Din.* 1. 43.

151 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 417, 1152; II, 773.

152 *iii.* 119f.

153 Schaefer, *op. cit.*, III, 296.

154 Kirchner, *op. cit.*, I, No. 2251.

with a large sum of money for the purpose.<sup>155</sup> The graft from this contract immediately won Charicles' good-will. The friendship of other Athenian public men, also, was secured by means of presents.<sup>156</sup> Yet, in spite of the fact that much of Harpalus' popularity was due to the bribery of public men, the author of the satyric drama, *Agen*, states that he was made a citizen because he had sent to Athens large presents of grain:

καὶ μὴν ἀκούω μυριάδας τὸν Ἄρπαλον  
αὐτοῖσι τῶν Ἀγῆνος οὐκ ἐλάττονας  
σίτου παραπέμψαι καὶ πολίτην γεγονέναι  
Γλυκέρας ὁ σῖτος οὗτος ἦν· ἔσται δ' ἴσως  
αὐτοῖσιν ὀλέθρου κοῦχ' ἐταίρας ἀρραβῶν.<sup>157</sup>

This grant is to be explained by the same reason which accounts for the honors paid to many other persons during the years immediately preceding.<sup>158</sup> Before 330 B. C. Athens began to feel the effects of a scarcity of grain.<sup>159</sup> In 330 B. C. Demosthenes<sup>160</sup> says that in war time the necessities of life had been cheaper and more plentiful than under the existing peace. This want became severe in 330 B. C. and continued until 325 B. C.<sup>161</sup> A special fund for the purchase of grain was begun and voluntary contributions invited. Demosthenes as one of the administrators of the fund contributed a talent. The complainant in the speech *Against Phormio*<sup>162</sup> points to the fact that he has imported and sold at a moderate price ten thousand *medimni* of grain, and on a second occasion contributed a talent to purchase grain for the people. These two occasions were 330/29 B. C. and 328/7 B. C.

155 Plut. *Phoc.* 22; Paus. i. 37. 4; Dicearch. fr. 72, ed. Didot.

156 Athen. xiii. 595d ff.

157 *Ibid.*, 586d.

158 Schaefer, *loc. cit.*

159 Cf. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 342 in which certain Tyrians are thanked for shipments of grain to Athens.

160 18. 89.

161 Koehler, *MAI*, VIII (1883), 221.

162 39.

The Athenians honored Heraclides, a Salaminian, for having sent three thousand *medimni* of grain at five drachmae each (330/29 B.C.), and later for having contributed to the demos three thousand drachmae for the purchase of grain (328/7 B. C.).<sup>163</sup>

EUPHRON. Euphron of Sicyon, the leader of the national party in his native city, was granted citizenship in 323/2 B. C.<sup>164</sup> Some years before 323 B.C. he had been banished, but he returned before the Lamian war and drove out the Macedonian garrison. Through his efforts Sicyon was the first Peloponnesian state to join Athens in the war against Antipater after the death of Alexander. He himself announced this as ambassador. These circumstances are given as the reason for granting him citizenship: ἐπειδὴ Εὐφρων Ἀδέα Σικυώνιος ἀν[ήρ διατελεῖ ἀγα]θὸς ὢν περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναί[ων καὶ νῦν ἥκων παρ]ὰ τοῦ δήμου [τ]οῦ Σικυωνίων ἐπ[αγ]γ[έλλεται τὴν πόλιν] φίλην καὶ σύμμαχον [οὗς]αν [ἀμυνεῖν(?)] κατὰ τῶν πολεμ[ί]ων τῷ δήμῳ τ[ῷ] Ἀθηναίων [πρῶ]τ[η]ν [τῶν ἐν Πελοπονν]ήσῳ πόλεων.

———. IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 398 (ca. 320/19 B. C.) records a grant of citizenship which was made for the following reasons: . . . φάν[η]ς πα[τρικὴν ἔχων εὐνοίαν πρ]ὸς τὸν δῆμο[ν τὸν Ἀθηναίων διατε]λεῖ χρήσιμο[ς ὢν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδ]ίᾳ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις Ἀθηναίω[ν εἰς τὴν Ἀσί]αν καὶ τοῖς στρατευομένοις Ἀθην[αίων, τῆς δὲ ναυμαχί]ας τῆς ἐν Ἑλλη[σπόντῳ γενομένης] πολλοὺς διέσ[φεν καὶ ἐφόδια δοῦ]ς ἀπέστειλε[ν καὶ αἷτιος ἐγένετο τ]οῦ σωθῆναι [καὶ κατελθεῖν αὐτοὺς κ]αὶ σπάνεως [σίτου γενομένης τὸν σ]ῖτον τὸν ἐν [Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἀπέστει]λεν πυρῶν μ[εδίμνους . . . Ἀθήναζε] φανεράν πο[ιῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον] φιλοτιμ[ίαν]. The naval battle in the Hellespont, referred to in line 7, was fought in 323/2 B. C. during the Lamian war. "When reinforcements were in motion to join Antipater, a Greek fleet under the command of the Athenian admiral Evetion was in position near Abydos. It was, however, defeated disastrously in a battle in the straits, doubtless by the hundred and ten ships of Antipater, and

163 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 360. Cf. Schaefer, *op. cit.*, III, 295, n. 3.

164 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 448.

only part of it succeeded in reaching the Piraeus in safety."<sup>165</sup>

**ARISTONICUS.** Aristonicus of Carystus, the ball-player of Alexander, was granted citizenship in 319/8 B. C.<sup>166</sup> Unfortunately the general motivation, as well as the specific, is missing, but perhaps the phrase τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων<sup>167</sup> is part of the general statement of ἀνδραγαθία. In Athenaeus<sup>168</sup> we are told that Aristonicus was granted citizenship and voted a statue because of his skill as a ballplayer: ὅτι Ἀριστόνικον, τὸν Καρύστιον, τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου σφαιριστήν, Ἀθηναῖοι πολίτην ἐποίησαντο διὰ τὴν τέχνην καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἀνέστησαν.<sup>169</sup>

**EVENOR.** Evenor, a physician, was granted citizenship between 318 and 307 B.C.<sup>170</sup> The reason is as follows: [ἐπειδὴ Εὐνῶρ ὁ ἰατρὸς πρότερόν τε π[ᾶσαν εὖνοιαν ἀποδέδ]εικται τῷ δήμῳ καὶ [χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν πα]ρέσχηκεν κατὰ τὴν τέχ[νῃν τοῖς δεομένοις] τῶμ πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλ[λων τῶν οἰκούντων ἐ]ν τῇ πόλει καὶ νῦν ἐπι[δέδωκεν προθύμως ε]ἰς τὴν παρασκευὴν τάλ[αντον ἀργυρίου]. Though we cannot learn the exact connection in which Evenor's services were rendered, we are told that he had contributed to the state a talent of silver and that he had offered his services as a physician to the people of Athens.<sup>171</sup>

**NEAEUS.** Neaeus was granted citizenship about 307 B. C.<sup>172</sup> Although the part of the decree which contains the specific reason is mutilated, it included contributions for military purposes: ἔτι προσεπέδωκε Νεαῖ[ος] τῷ δή[μῳ] . . . . . εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.<sup>173</sup>

———. An ancestor of Telesias of Troezen was granted citizenship in 307-301 or 294/3 B. C.<sup>174</sup> The rea-

165 Ferguson, *Hellen. Ath.*, 16 f.

166 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 385.

167 *Fr. b*, l. 3.

168 i. 19a.

169 See p. 85.

170 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 374.

171 Cf. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 483 (304/3 B. C.).

172 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 553.

173 *Ibid.*, ll. 9 f.

174 Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 314.

son is stated as follows: διότι — — — ἰδίᾳ οἱ Τελεσίου πρόγον[ο]ι πολλὰς καὶ μεγά[λας παρέ]σχηνται χρείας ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιρ[οῖς] συνεργοῦν[τε]ς καὶ κοιν[ῇ] τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ[άστοις].<sup>175</sup> His services were of a financial and political character. The grant was made "under the Democracy," and the decree was moved by the prominent democrat Stratocles.<sup>176</sup>

NICON. Nicon of Abydus was granted citizenship in 303/2 B. C.<sup>177</sup> The reason is as follows: ἐπειδὴ Νίκων Ἀβυδηνὸς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου εὖνους ὢν διατελεῖ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους Ἀθηναίων εἰς Ἀβυδὸν ἰδίᾳ τε εὖ ποιῶν διατελεῖ καὶ δημοσίᾳ πράττων ἀγαθὸν ὃ τι δύναται ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ προτέρου τῶν ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν συνδίσσῳσεν καὶ ἐφόδια δοὺς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. The naval battle referred to was fought in 323/2 B. C. between the Athenian and Macedonian fleets near Abydus. The Athenians were disastrously defeated as the inscription implies.<sup>178</sup>

ALCAEUS. Alcaeus was granted citizenship in 303/2 B. C.<sup>179</sup> The reason given is: ἐπειδὴ Ἀλκαῖος Ἡραΐ[ο]υ Αἰνίος διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ βασιλ[ε]ῖ Δημητρίῳ διατελεῖ πράττων ἀγα[θ]ὸν ὃ τι δύναται καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργ[ῳ] περὶ τε τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους ἰδίᾳ [Ἀθη]ναίων πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα καὶ κοι[νῇ] περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων. In 305 B. C. Demetrius laid siege to Rhodes. During this siege (304 B. C.) his camp was visited by an embassy composed of more than fifty envoys sent by Athens and other Greek states to induce him to make peace with the Rhodians. In 304 B. C. Demetrius returned to Athens and drove out the forces of Cassander. During the winter of 304 he remained in Athens, and in 303 he marched into the Peloponnesus. During this period Alcaeus made himself of service to Athens at the court of Demetrius.

OXYTHEMIS. Oxythemis of Larisa was granted

175 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 971, ll. 13-18.

176 *Ibid.*, l. 21.

177 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 493+518; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 271 ff.

178 Johnson, *AJA*, XVII (1913), 506-19.

179 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 495.

citizenship about 303/2 B. C.<sup>180</sup> The general reason is: ἀρετῆς ἔνε[κεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς β]ασιλεῖς καὶ τὸ[ν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθη-  
να]ίων. He was a favorite of Demetrius and used his in-  
fluence [συναγωνίζ]εσθαι ἀπροφασίστω[ς τῇ τε τῶν] βασιλέων  
προαιρέσει [καὶ τῇ τῶ]ν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίᾳ.<sup>181</sup> The exact ser-  
vice which he had rendered is not given, but the decree  
states what he was expected to do after the grant: ὅπως  
ἂν τετιμημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου [π]ράττη καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν  
αἰχμαλώτων ὡς ἂν ὑπὲρ πολιτῶν ὃ τι ἂν ὑπολαμβάνῃ συμφέρ(ε)ιν  
αὐτοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν.<sup>182</sup>

SOLON. Solon of Bargylia was granted citizenship  
in 303/2 B. C.<sup>183</sup> The general character of the services  
which he had performed is shown by the motivation:  
[ἐπειδὴ Σόλ]ων Στράτων[ος Βαργυλιήτης διατρίβω]ν παρὰ τ[ῷ]  
βασιλεῖ Δημητρίῳ διατ]ελεῖ πρ[άττων ἀγαθὸν ὃ τι δύναται καὶ]  
λόγ[ω καὶ ἔργῳ περὶ τε τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους ἰδίᾳ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς  
τὸν βα]σιλέα κ[α]ὶ κοινῇ [περὶ τ]ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων.<sup>184</sup>

HERODORUS. Herodorus was granted citizenship in  
295/4 B. C.<sup>185</sup> for the following reason: ἐπειδὴ Ἡρόδωρ[ος  
πρότερόν τε] διατρίβων παρ' Ἀντιγό[νῳ τῷ βασιλε]ῖ εὖνους ἦν τῷ  
δήμῳ τ[ῷ Ἀθηναίων κα]ὶ νῦν ἐμπίστε(ι) ὢν τῷ βα[σιλεῖ Δημη-  
τρί]ῳ ἀγαθὸν ὃ τι δύναται [πράττει κοινῇ] τε ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως  
κα[ὶ ἰδίᾳ ὑπὲρ ἐκ]άστου Ἀθηναίων ἀεὶ το[ῦ δεομένου, ἀπο]φαι-  
νουσιν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ [οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ] πεμφθέντες ὑπὲρ τῆς ε[ιρήνης  
πρὸς τὸ]ν βασιλέα Δημήτριον σ[υναγωνίσασθα]ι τῷ δήμῳ εἰς τὸ  
συντ[ελεσθῆναι τήν] τε φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν [βασιλέα Δημήτριον  
καὶ ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμος] ἀπαλλαγεῖς το[ῦ πολέμου τὴν ταχίστ]ην καὶ  
κομισάμε[νος τὸ ἄστυ δημοκρατ]ίαν διατελῇ ἔχ[ων].<sup>186</sup> The im-  
mediate service for which Herodorus was honored occur-  
red when Athens was besieged by Demetrius. Lachares  
the tyrant having defended the city until further opposi-  
tion was useless disguised himself and made his escape.  
The people joyfully admitted Demetrius and sent an em-

180 *IG*, II<sup>3</sup>, 558.

181 *Ibid.*, II. 12-14.

182 *Ibid.*, II. 31-36.

183 Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 274; *IG*, II<sup>3</sup>, 496+507.

184 *Ibid.*, II. 10-17.

185 *IG*, II<sup>3</sup>, 646.

186 *Ibid.*, II. 8-23.

bassy to arrange terms of peace with him. Demetrius was very lenient, for, having assembled the citizens in the theater, he appointed magistrates who were particularly pleasing to the people. Also, in order to relieve the want caused by the siege, he presented the people with one hundred thousand *medimni* of grain.<sup>187</sup> Herodorus was instrumental in securing these favorable terms for the Athenians.<sup>188</sup>

**AESCHRON.** Aeschron was granted citizenship in 288/7 B. C.<sup>189</sup> for the following reason: [τῇ τοῦ δήμου] σωτηρίᾳ [συναγωνιζόμενος διατετέλεκεν καὶ] νῦν τῶν πυλ[αγόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀμφικτιόνων] τῶν ἐν Δελφο[ῖς ἀποφαινόντων τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι ἐπὶ] Διοκλέους ἄρχο[ντος Ἀθηναίων τινῶν ἀνδραποδι]σθῆναι ἐξαναγελθέ[ντων προθύμως ἐξήτ]ήσατο μετὰ Χαριξέ[ου τοῦ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγοῦ] καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐαυτ[οῦ φίλων παρακαλεσάμενος ἐ]βιάσατο τοὺς παραν[ομοῦντας καὶ ἐπαίησεν τοὺς λη]φθέντας σωθῆναι καὶ [τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἀρπασθέντα] ἀποκατέστησεν αὐτο[ῖς βέβαια μετὰ πάσης ἀσφα]λείας.<sup>190</sup> The events here narrated took place in 290 B. C. Delphi had fallen into Aetolian hands and in the summer of this year the Aetolians excluded all adherents of Demetrius, including the Athenians, from the Pythian games. Certain Athenians at Delphi were seized and their property taken. Through the efforts of Aeschron and his friends these Athenians were liberated and their possessions were returned.

**ARTEMIDORUS.** Artemidorus was granted citizenship in 288/7 B. C.<sup>191</sup> The reason given is as follows: ἐπειδὴ Ἀρτεμίδωρος . . . . . ἐμπίσται καὶ φιλίας ὦν βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου καὶ ἀποστελλόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου πρὸς τὸν δῆμον κατὰ τὰς πρεσβε[ί]ας [εὖνοιαν ἐνδείκνυται τῷ βασιλεῖ] Λυσ[ιμάχῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθ]ηναίων καὶ [. . . . .ς τὸν βασιλέα] ἐμ[αν]τὶ καὶ [ρῶ . . . . .] ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου

187 Plut. *Demetr.* 34.

188 Ferguson, *Cornell Studies*, X, 4; *Hellen. Ath.*, 134 f.; Plut. *loc. cit.*

189 Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 418 ff.

190 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 652, ll. 3-14.

191 Johnson, *AJA*, XVIII (1914), 173, 184; *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 662, 663.

ἀγχιθὸν ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται καὶ ταῖς πρεσβε[ίαις ταῖς ἀποστε]λλομέναις πρὸς τὸν [βασιλέα συναγων(ί)ζειται εἰς ὃ τι ἂν αὐτ[ὸν παρακαλῶσιν].<sup>192</sup> After the Macedonian garrison had been driven out of the Museum the newly-established Nationalist government sent out various embassies to solicit aid for Athens in view of the expected siege by Demetrius. "Philippides went up to the court of Lysimachus in 299/8 B. C., when he secured a gift of corn for Athens and also a mast and sail for the Panathenaic procession (IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 657). It is uncertain whether these gifts were obtained as a result of one or more visits. Demochares went at least twice to the same court, receiving at one time thirty, and at another one hundred talents of silver. . . . The embassies of Demochares were sent apparently *ca.* 288/7 B. C., not long after his restoration (Tarn, Antigonos Gonatas, pp. 92 ff., 416 ff.)."<sup>193</sup> These embassies are probably the ones referred to in the decree,<sup>194</sup> in connection with which services were rendered by Artemidorus to Athens.

AUDOLEON. Audoleon, king of the Paeonians, received Athenian citizenship in 287/6 B. C.<sup>195</sup> The reason given is as follows: ἐ[πει]δὴ ὁ Παιόνων β[ασ]ιλεὺς [Α]ὐδω-λ[έω]ν ἐκ τῶν ἔμ[πι]ροσθε χρόνων ε[ὕ]νους ἐστὶν τῷ δήμῳ τ[ῷ] Ἀθηνα[ί]ων χρείας παρεχόμεν[ος] καὶ συ[ν]εργῶν εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερ[ί]αν τῇ [π]όλει καὶ κομισαμένου [τ]οῦ δήμ[ου] τὸ ἄστυ πυθόμενος συ[ν]ήσθη τ[ο]ῖς γεγενημένοις εὐτυχήμασι[ν] νομίζων εἶναι κοινὴν καὶ αὐτ[ῷ] τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν, παρ[έ]χεται[ι] δὲ χρείας καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς τε διατρίβουσιν Ἀθηναίων πα[ρ]’ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένο[ι]ς εἰς τὴν χώραν, δέδωκεν δὲ καὶ [σ]ί[τ]του ὠρεᾶν τῷ δήμῳ μεδίμν[ου]ς ἐπτακισχιλίους κα[ὶ] πεντα[κ]οσίους Μακεδονίας τοῖς ἰδίοις[ι] ἀναλώμασιν καταστήσας εἰς τ[ο]ὺς λιμένας τοὺς τῆς πόλεως, ἐπ[α]νγέλλεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν παρέξεσθαι χρείας συνεργῶν [ε]ἰς τε τὴν τοῦ Πειραιέως κομιδ[ή]ν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερί[αν].<sup>196</sup> Besides his general

192 Johnson's restoration.

193 Johnson, *op. cit.*, 171 f.

194 Ll. 2, 7.

195 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 654.

196 *Ibid.*, ll. 11-35.

attitude of friendliness toward the Athenian State, his pleasure at hearing that the Macedonian garrison had been driven out and that the Nationalist government was in power, and his good treatment of the Athenians who lived at his court or happened into his country, the distinction conferred upon him is chiefly based upon the seventy-five hundred *medimni* of grain which he hurriedly despatched to Athens after the revolt of the city from Demetrius.<sup>197</sup>

**STROMBICHUS.** Strombichus received citizenship in 280/79 B. C.<sup>198</sup> or 282/1 B. C.<sup>199</sup> In this decree the reason is given in greater detail than in any other: ἐπειδὴ Στρόμβιχος στρατευόμενος πρότερον[ν] παρὰ Δημητρίῳ καὶ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν τῷ ἄστει μετὰ Σ[πι]νθάρου, λαβόντος τοῦ δήμου τὰ ὅπλα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθ[ερί]ας καὶ παρακαλοῦ[ν]τος καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τίθεσθαι[ν] πρὸς τῇ πόλιν ὑπήκουσεν τῷ δήμῳ εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν [κα]ὶ ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα μετὰ τῆς πόλεως οἰόμενος δεῖν μὴ ἐνίσ[τ]ασθαι τῷ τῆς πόλεως συμφέροντι ἀλλὰ συναίτιος γενέσ[θαι] τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, συνεπολιόρκει δὲ καὶ τὸ Μουσ[εῖ]ον μετὰ [το]ῦ δήμου καὶ συντ[ε]λεσθ[έν]των τῇ πόλει τῶν πρ[α]γμάτων[ν] καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς χρείας ἀπροφασίστως παρασχόμενος[ς] διατ[ε]τέλεκεν καὶ διαμεμένηκεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ δήμου εὐ[νοί]ᾳ, κα]ὶ τοῦ πολέμου γενομένου [ἀ]νὴρ ἀγα[θός] ἥ[ν] περὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ] ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπ[ὲρ] αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν ὅσα παραγγέλλοι ὁ στρατηγός κ[αί]200 εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπαγγέλλετ[αι] χρείας παρέξουσ[θαι] τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων]. The specific service for which Strombichus was honored was his assistance in storming the Museum in 288 B. C. In the spring of that year Demetrius had marched north to meet his opponents, Lysimachus and Pyrrhus, in Macedonia, having left a garrison in the Museum to control Athens. Upon the arrival of an Egyptian squadron the Nationalist party rose and overthrew the Macedonian garrison in an engagement which is described by Pausanias:<sup>201</sup> "Some time afterwards a few men, bethinking them of their forefathers, and of what a change had come over the glory of Athens, without more ado put them-

197 Ferguson, *Hellen. Ath.*, 147; Tarn, *op. cit.*, 101.

198 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 666, 667; Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 277.

199 Tarn, *JHSt*, XL (1920), 158.

200 Thus far from 666, the rest from 667.

201 i. 26. 1 f.

selves under the command of Olympiodorus. He led them, old men and striplings alike, against the Macedonians, looking for victory rather to stout hearts than strong arms. When the Macedonians marched out to meet him he defeated them: they fled to the Museum, and he took the place. Thus Athens was freed from the Macedonians. All the Athenians fought memorably, but Leocritus, son of Protarchus, is said to have been the boldest in the action. For he was the first to mount the wall and the first to leap into the Museum. He fell in the fight and among other marks of honor which the Athenians bestowed on him they engraved his name and his exploit on his shield, and dedicated it to Zeus of Freedom."<sup>202</sup> Strombichus, who was an officer of the Macedonian garrison, turned traitor to Demetrius and joined the Athenians in storming the Museum.<sup>203</sup>

———. In *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 717 (262-230 B. C.) citizenship was granted because [τοῖς μὲν ἀποστελλομένοις ὑ]πὸ τοῦ δ[ήμου ἀεὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντ]α τῷ δήμῳ καὶ [ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ τῆς πόλεως πεφρόντ]ικεν, τοῖς δὲ χρείας [παρεχομένοις ἔσοι αὐτὸν παρεκάλ]εσαν ἀπ[ο]δεικνύμεν[ος τὴν τε φιλοτιμίαν καὶ τὴν εὖνο]ιαν ἣν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν π[όλιν]. If the word ἀποστελλομένοις is correctly restored, the person here honored, probably an official at a foreign court, had cared for the representatives of Athens and had aided them in attaining the object of their mission.

ALEXANDER. Alexander, son of Callistratus, a Thessalian, was granted citizenship at the end of the third century B. C.<sup>204</sup> The reason assigned is: ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος εὖχρηστον ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάζει καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν. In 210 B. C. the Athenians joined in an embassy to Philip V, who was at Phalara on the Malian Gulf. Probably Alexander was a Macedonian official and won the gratitude of the Athenians by his hospitality and by furthering the interests of Athens at court.

202 Frazer's translation.

203 Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 96; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 144 ff.

204 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 850; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 298.

RHODIANS. In 200 B. C. Attalus and Roman and Rhodian envoys met at Athens to try to persuade the Athenians to join in an alliance with them against Philip of Macedonia. At an ecclesia summoned for the purpose Attalus and the Rhodians presented their arguments in such a convincing manner that the Athenians immediately decreed war against Philip. "They gave the Rhodians also a magnificent reception, and honored their state with a crown of valour," καὶ πᾶσι Ῥοδίοις ἰσοπολιτεῖαν<sup>205</sup> ἐψηφίσαντο διὰ τὸ κάκείνους αὐτοῖς χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων τάς τε ναῦς ἀποκαταστήσαι τὰς αἰχμαλώτους γενομένας καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας.<sup>206</sup> This seizure of Athenian warships and their crews was made by the Macedonian fleet in 201 B. C., at about the time when the raid of the Acarnanians and Macedonians into Attica occurred.<sup>207</sup>

PHILONIDES and his sons PHILONIDES and DICAERARCHUS. Sometime before the date of IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 1236 (200-150 B. C.) Philonides and his two sons, natives of Laodicea, were granted citizenship. The reason is only partly preserved: [καὶ τοῖς παραγενομένοις π]αρὰ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς [ἰς πρεσβευταῖς συνήργει μετὰ σπουδῆς] καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας εὐεργεσίας ἃς πο[ιῶν διατετέλεκε τὸν δῆμον ἐτίμη]σεν ὁ δῆμος πολιτεία αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐ[τοῦ].<sup>208</sup>

It will be admitted at once that nearly all of these grants were made for public service and fall under the law of ἀνδραγαθία.<sup>209</sup> That such cases as the Plataeans in

205 Szanto, *Griech. Bürgerr.*, 68 f., 79.

206 Polyb. xvi. 26; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 272.

207 Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 268, n. 4.

208 In the following decrees citizenship was granted for a similar reason: IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 889 (ca. 190 B. C.), 893 (ca. 188/7 B. C.), 922 (200-168 B. C.), 954 (168-159 B. C.), 979 (168-129 B. C.).

209 Public service, or service to the state, did not always mean service to the existing government or to the party in power. This is most strikingly illustrated by the honors conferred upon Thrasybulus, Apollodorus, and Eucles. Philip of Macedon was honored after the battle of Chaeronea, when the Macedonian party in Athens gained control of affairs through the reaction of feeling produced by Philip's unexpected generosity. Furthermore, one political party sometimes canceled the honors which the party previously in power had granted on the ground of public service (cf. IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 6, 9, 52, 448). Public service, therefore, must be understood as a relative term.

519 B. C. and Sadocus in 431 B. C., in which the grant was made to the people or the ruler with whom Athens contracted an alliance, also come under the law of ἀνδραγαθία is certain. For there are many cases in which the grant is made explicitly under this law to subordinate officials who merely conducted the negotiations for the parties to the alliance. And Euphron of Sicily, who led his city into an alliance with Athens in 323 B. C., was granted citizenship under the law of ἀνδραγαθία. When an alliance was formed with a foreign nation citizenship was sometimes granted to the people *en masse*, as in the case of a democracy, or to the ruler, as in the case of a monarchy. Accordingly, the law of ἀνδραγαθία was in existence throughout the period covered by the foregoing grants, i. e., from 519 B. C. to the second century B. C.<sup>210</sup>

Having determined the period during which the operation of the law of ἀνδραγαθία is proved by actual instances, our next inquiry is whether there is any evidence of the existence of any other law during this period, especially of the Solonian law concerning exiles and permanent settlers.<sup>211</sup>

Only the case of Astyocrates<sup>212</sup> invites further consideration. The decree makes no direct reference to ἀνδραγαθία, but states in the motivation the fact that Astyocrates has been exiled. Is this an example of the application of the law concerning exiles which was introduced by Solon? First let us look at the decree itself. The reason given is that Astyocrates *was* exiled, not that he *is* an exile. Further, the motion immediately following the motivation annuls the actions brought against Astyocrates at the time of his banishment: τὰς μὲν [δίκας τὰς κ]ατὰ Ἀστυκράτους καὶ τῶν μετ' [αὐτοῦ γεγε]νημένας ἐν Ἀμφικτίσιν ἀ[τε]λεῖς εἶναι.<sup>213</sup> The Athenians voted against the opponents of Astyocrates because he had been exiled παρὰ τοὺς νόμους

210 Beyond this point evidence is lacking.

211 The cases of the Thessalians and Andrians (p. 39) and of Aristonicus (p. 55) are only apparent exceptions to the law of ἀνδραγαθία, as will be shown elsewhere (pp. 85, 88).

212 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 109 (363/2 B. C.). See p. 43.

213 *Ibid.*, ll. 22-25.

τῶν Ἀ[μ]φ[ικτιόνων καὶ] τοὺς Δελφῶν.<sup>214</sup> It was not the fact that Astyocrates was an exile which enlisted the support of the Athenians, but the *reason* for which he had been exiled, and this reason must have affected Athenian interests. The reason has already been given<sup>215</sup> and its connection with Athenian interests seems simple. Alexander of Pherae was an ally of Athens, and when the Phocians refused to follow the Thebans against him their action worked to the advantage of Athens. So Astyocrates and his ten associates supported the Phocians "im sicheren Gefühl der Rückendeckung durch Athen und Sparta, vielleicht auch auf deren Veranlassung, gegen die phokerfeindliche, mit Boeotien und Thessalien sympathisierende Hauptmasse der delphischen Bürger."<sup>216</sup> Perhaps the clause, περὶ ᾧ λέγει Ἀστυκράτης ὁ Δελφός καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ,<sup>217</sup> recounted his services to Athens in this connection. Thus the case of Astyocrates can be explained easily under the law of ἀνδραγαθία.

Other evidence indicates that this is the correct interpretation. First, all other grants of citizenship to exiles, in which a reason is given, were made under the law of ἀνδραγαθία: Plataeans, 427 B. C.; Pytho and Heraclides, 360 B. C.; Phormio and Carphinas, 338/7 B. C.; and Pisithides, ca. 331 B. C. The grant to Pytho and Heraclides was made within three years of that to Astyocrates. Second, many exiles who sought refuge at Athens were honored, but did not receive citizenship. Decrees of this class are IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 12, 33, 37, 81, 109, 211, 218, 226, 237, 245, 254, 435, 545. Also, the Byzantians who betrayed their city to Athens in 389 B. C., when later expelled from their country, found an asylum at Athens, but did not receive citizenship.<sup>218</sup> Even Astyocrates' ten companions in exile were not granted citizenship. Third, in almost all decrees in which any honors are granted to exiles explicit reference is made to their ἀνδραγαθία. These

214 *Ibid.*, ll. 17 f.

215 See p. 43.

216 Pomtow, *op. cit.*, 94.

217 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 109, ll. 8 f.

218 Dem. 20. 60.

facts show that banishment in itself was not sufficient to secure a grant of citizenship, while ἀνδραγαθία was essential for all honors. The motivation of IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 545, in which ἀτέλεις τοῦ μετοίκου was granted to Thessalian exiles, is an excellent example of this: [ἐπεὶ] δὴ Θετταλοὶ φίλοι ὅ[ντες τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων φ[εύγουσιν ἐξ Θετταλ[ίας]. And Demosthenes,<sup>219</sup> in reference to the Byzantians who were exiled after 389 B. C., says: ὦν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐκπεσόντων, ἐψηφίσασθ' ἅπερ οἶμαι φεύγουσιν εὐεργέταις δι' ὑμᾶς προσῆκε, προξενίαν, εὐεργεσίαν, ἀτέλειαν ἀπάντων. Further, the experience of two exiles, Apollonides an Olynthian, and Pitholaus a Thessalian, makes this point clear. They were granted citizenship, but were deprived of that privilege afterwards. Yet they had not been recalled to their native cities; they still remained exiles. They lost their distinction because it was proved that they had not earned it δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν.<sup>220</sup> Though banishment was the occasion of the grant of citizenship or other honor, yet the ἀνδραγαθία of the exile was the reason, and, as in the case of Astyocrates and his companions, the honor bestowed was proportionate to the value of the service rendered.

The foregoing evidence shows clearly that the case of Astyocrates must be classified under the law of ἀνδραγαθία. There is, therefore, no positive evidence of the application of the law for exiles in post-Solonian times; and the fact that in numerous cases, where the law for exiles would have been applied if it had been in use, honors were granted to exiles for their ἀνδραγαθία suggests that the law for exiles was never used after the introduction of the law of ἀνδραγαθία, which was already in operation in 519 B. C.

Likewise, there is no positive evidence of the application of the law for permanent settlers during this period. Instances of the admission of metics are few in comparison with the total number living at Athens,<sup>221</sup> and those

219 *Loc. cit.*

220 [Dem.] 59. 91; Dem. 9. 56; Aristot. *Rhet.* 1410a 17.

221 Clerc, *Les Métèques Athéniens*, 224.

who were admitted were taken in on the ground of ἀνδραγαθία. Furthermore, various statements point to the conclusion that this law also was never used after the introduction of the law of ἀνδραγαθία. Lycurgus<sup>222</sup> speaks of a motion to make ξένοι Athenians in such terms of reproach as would scarcely have been used, had such a practice been a regular usage. Xenophon, writing *On Revenues* about the year 353 B. C., recommends various ways of attracting foreigners to settle in Athens, and suggests various privileges and immunities which might be granted to them in order that the state might receive an income from the tax imposed on aliens. His suggestion would be of no value, if permanent settlers, as such, were admitted to citizenship. The statement of Diodorus that permanent settlers, or metics, who enlisted in the navy before the battle of Arginusae in 406 B. C., were admitted to citizenship makes it appear improbable that this law was in operation at that time. Also, note that "Themistocles persuaded the people to grant the resident aliens and the craftsmen immunity from special burdens [not citizenship], so that many people might come to the city from all parts and they might easily establish more crafts."<sup>223</sup> And lastly the statement of Aristotle<sup>224</sup> that Clisthenes enrolled in the tribes many ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους shows that already at that time the admission of permanent settlers had ceased to be a regular practice.

The evidence has led to the inference that the Solonian law concerning exiles and permanent settlers was not in operation after the introduction of the law of ἀνδραγαθία. The wording of the latter law confirms this conclusion. The law reads as follows: μὴ ἐξεῖναι ποιήσασθαι Ἀθηναῖον ὃν ἂν μὴ δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἄξιον ἢ γενέσθαι πολίτην—"that it be *not* permitted to make anyone an Athenian *unless* he shall be worthy to become a citizen on account of his good services to the state."<sup>225</sup> Since no

222 *In Leocr.* 41 (330 B. C.).

223 *Diodor.* xi. 43. 3.

224 *Pol.* iii. 1275b 37.

225 [*Dem.*] 59. 89.

one could be made an Athenian unless he was a benefactor of the state, obviously an exile or permanent settler, as such, could not be granted citizenship, but only an exile or permanent settler who had proved himself a friend of the Athenian State.

It has been shown that by 519 B. C. the law of ἀνδραγαθία was in operation and the Solonian law had ceased to be applied. When we come to inquire at what time in the sixth century and by what steps the transition occurred, we are treading upon very uncertain ground. We have seen that the law of ἀνδραγαθία is restrictive. Further, this law is not confined to exiles and permanent settlers, yet there is no reference in it to any change in the class of persons affected. It seems reasonable to conclude from this that the law of ἀνδραγαθία placed a limitation, not upon the Solonian law, but upon a subsequent law or practice, perhaps a reaction to the ante-Solonian practice. Whether it was by custom or by legislation that a more liberal policy came into existence after the time of Solon is impossible to determine. Solon restricted citizenship by birth to children of Athenian parents and limited citizenship by grant to foreigners who adopted Athens as their future residence, believing in "Athens only for the Athenians." About the time of Damasias the laws concerning admission by birth were relaxed, and perhaps during the years of disturbance which followed Solon the law concerning admission by grant felt the same tendency. Then, too, the qualification of "permanent settler" might easily be abused. If Damasias admitted νόθοι to gain supporters,<sup>226</sup> the admission of aliens may have been resorted to in a similar way for political purposes. Following this broadening of the Solonian law the law of ἀνδραγαθία may have been introduced, without limitation of residence, but with a qualification of service.

The introduction of the law of ἀνδραγαθία marks a distinct change of policy, and that change must have been to the advantage of the Athenians. An idea of this change in conditions may be gathered from the essential differ-

226 O. Müller, *op. cit.*, 844.

ences between the Solonian law and the law of ἀνδραγαθία. First, the privileges of citizenship were again thrown open to others besides exiles and permanent settlers. This may have been done for economic reasons, for many of the industrial and commercial leaders whose business was essential to Athens did not reside there permanently. Among them were "the aliens" who, contrary to Solon's intention when he issued his restriction, may have been driven away by such discriminations as the rule that "it is not lawful for any alien to traffic in the market" without paying the aliens' toll.<sup>227</sup> It was politic, at least, to retain their favor by making them eligible to the privileges of citizenship, which would be useful as well as honorary, and thus to place them on a more equal basis with permanent settlers. Second, the substitution of ἀνδραγαθία for banishment or permanent settlement as the condition of admission to citizenship and the refusal any longer to receive exiles and permanent settlers, as such, is a very significant fact. We cannot assert that under the Solonian law all permanent settlers were admitted to citizenship, yet, as no further condition is stated, we assume that the proportion was large.<sup>228</sup> Under the law of ἀνδραγαθία instances of the admission of metics are few in comparison with the total number living at Athens.<sup>229</sup> Yet the commercial and industrial opportunities which Athens offered to enterprising foreigners drew them thither in increasing numbers. The Athenians continued to welcome them and sometimes offered them special inducements to come, but as a class they were excluded from the citizen-body. This fact has a double significance. Solon excluded aliens from trafficking in the market in order that business might not pass entirely into the hands of foreigners.<sup>230</sup> Now, from one point of view, the admission of permanent settlers by Solon's law violated the spirit of this principle, but it affected the Athenians in a still more sensitive spot, i. e., their political rights. "In-

227 Dem. 57. 31, 34.

228 See Clerc, *op. cit.*, 322 f. for contrary view.

229 *Ibid.*, 224.

230 *Ibid.*, 334.

soferne als die Erweiterung der Zahl der Entscheidungen die Macht des Einzelnen naturgemäss einschränkt, ist jede Verleihung zugleich eine Selbsteinschränkung der Bürger."<sup>231</sup> The regular application of such a law as Solon's, which evidently placed the new citizen on a level with the old, was certainly not pleasing to the democratic element in a small citizen-body,<sup>232</sup> and might have become a menace to their political power. Isocrates,<sup>233</sup> after lamenting the fact that aliens are taking the place of the Athenians lost in war, utters this principle: καίτοι χρὴ πόλιν μὲν εὐδαιμονίζειν μὴ τὴν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰκῇ πολλοὺς πολίτας ἀθροίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν πόλιν οἰκισάντων μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων διασώζουσιν. The law of ἀνδραγαθία, therefore, was a measure of protection. However, this law brought not only a negative, but also a positive advantage. Its introduction seems to mark the beginning of the importance of the metic class.<sup>234</sup> As before the class of metics contributed to the industrial progress of Athens and to her military strength, but now they formed an appreciable source of revenue, for each permanent settler was subject to an annual tax which went into the Athenian treasury. We do not know when the metic tax was instituted, but it is certain that the metics were not of importance as a source of revenue until they ceased to be taken into the citizen-body regularly. In view of the character of the results attending the introduction of the law of ἀνδραγαθία, might it not be assigned to the period immediately following the expulsion of Damasias, when the fact that two archons were chosen from the Demiurgi shows that the industrial class had gained a position of power in the government?

### Grants of Citizenship to Literary Men

One class of grants requires special consideration because at first glance it appears difficult to explain them

231 Szanto, *op. cit.*, 8.

232 O. Müller, *op. cit.*, 858.

233 8. 89.

234 See Clerc, *op. cit.*, 329-35 for a different view.

under the law of ἀνδραγαθία, or public service. The persons who are honored in these grants belong to the domain of literature. Unfortunately our task is made more difficult by the scarcity of the material and by the untrustworthy character of much of the evidence which we possess. In the first place there is no extant Attic decree in which citizenship is bestowed upon a person whose chief occupation was of a literary character. Furthermore, we lack any reference to such an event in any classical author, and are dependent upon the lexicographers and combinations of separate references. Evidence of the latter kind is furnished by the application, in different sources, of different *ethnica* to the same person. A combination of these *ethnica* will sometimes show that the person concerned had been admitted to citizenship. The evidence for the enfranchisement of foreign literary men follows, in chronological arrangement.

DIONYSIUS. A decree<sup>235</sup> of 368 B. C. made Dionysius, king of Sicily, an Athenian. He competed at least three times in the tragic contests at Athens. However, this is not a typical case of the enfranchisement of a poet, for Dionysius was primarily a ruler, not a poet, and, as we have seen,<sup>236</sup> the motive of the grant was purely political.

ANTIAPHANES. The comic poet Antiphanes, according to Suidas,<sup>237</sup> was a native of Ceos, Smyrna, or Rhodes, or, according to Anonym. *De com.*,<sup>238</sup> of Larissa in Thessaly. The latter authority also states that he was made an Athenian citizen through the agency of Demosthenes. This statement is perfectly possible, whether we assign to Antiphanes the dates 408/5-334/1 B. C.,<sup>239</sup> or preferably 388/5-314/0 B. C.<sup>240</sup>

235 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 103. Cf. *Ep. Phil.* 10.

236 P. 42.

237 S. v. Ἀντιφάνης.

238 Kaibel, 9.

239 According to Suidas and Anonym. *De com.*

240 Capps, *AJPh*, XXI (1900), 58; Wilhelm, *Urkunden Dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen*, 55 ff.

POLUS. The tragic actor Polus was an Aeginetan.<sup>241</sup> He was admitted to Athenian citizenship as a Sunian about 318-315 B. C.<sup>242</sup>

PHILEMON. The comic poet Philemon was born abroad, but later moved to Athens and there received citizenship before 307/6 B. C. His birthplace is variously given as Syracuse,<sup>243</sup> or Soli in Cilicia.<sup>244</sup> The nature of the evidence favors Syracuse.<sup>245</sup> The fact of his enfranchisement is attested by three sources, in two of which he is enrolled in the deme Diomeia.<sup>246</sup>

APOLLODORUS. The case of the Apollodori is difficult and much discussion has not cleared it up entirely.<sup>247</sup> Three poets named Apollodorus are mentioned in literature, an Athenian,<sup>248</sup> a Geloan,<sup>249</sup> and a Carystian.<sup>250</sup> Meineke<sup>251</sup> says that there were two Apollodori, Kaibel<sup>252</sup> reduces the number to one, and Capps<sup>253</sup> has brought proof from the inscriptions in support of Meineke's opinion. The view that there were two Apollodori is the more reasonable. Which two are to be identified? Chronological considerations make it clear that the Geloan and the Carystian were different persons.<sup>254</sup> The

241 Plut. *Dem.* 28.

242 Πῶλος Χαρικλέους (Luc. *Necyom.* 16); O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*, p. 128, No. 421. But cf. Schaefer, *op. cit.*, I, 244.

243 Φ. μὲν οὖν Δάμωνος Συρακόσιος (Anonym. *De com.*, Kaibel, 9); Φ. Συρακόσιος υἱὸς Δάμωνος (Suid. s. v. Φιλήμων); Φ. Δάμωνος Συρακόσιος (IG, XIV, 1221).

244 Strabo xiv. 67.

245 Cf. Dietze, *De Phil. com.*, 4, n. 6.

246 IG, II, 1289 (307/6 B. C.); IG, III, 948 (333 B. C.); Anonym. *De com.*, Kaibel, 9.

247 Meineke, *Hist. Crit.*, 462; Kaibel, *Pauly-Wiss.*, I, 2, 2852, s. v. Apollodoros; Capps, *op. cit.*, 45 ff.; Krause, *De Apollodoris comicis*.

248 Suid. s. v. Ἀπολλόδωρος.

249 *Ibid.*

250 Suid. s. v. σπουδάζω. Cf. Athen. iii. 125a; vii. 280d.

251 *Loc. cit.*

252 *Loc. cit.*

253 *Op. cit.*, 49.

254 *Ibid.*

fragments quoted from the Athenian poet show that he was either the Geloan or the Carystian. Therefore, one or the other received Athenian citizenship. The articles in Suidas,<sup>255</sup> as well as the greater reputation of the Carystian, suggest that the Athenian and the Carystian are identical.<sup>256</sup>

DIODORUS. The comic poet Diodorus, a native of Sinope, is called an Athenian in Auctor *Lex. Hermann.*, 324.<sup>257</sup> In a sepulchral inscription<sup>258</sup> the deme-name Σημαχίδης is attached to the name Διόδωρος, while the ethnic appellation Σινωπεύς is attached to the names of his father Dio and his brother Diphilus. The identity of Diodorus and Diphilus with the comic poets of those names is very probable. Considerations of time and nationality support it.<sup>259</sup> If Diodorus is identical with the Diodorus Σινωπεύς who appeared as κωμωδός at Delos in the years 286 and 282 B. C., possibly he did not receive his grant of citizenship until after the latter date.<sup>260</sup>

HERACLITUS. The tragic actor Heraclitus is called Ἀργεῖος in *SGDI*, 2563, l. 39 (272 B. C.), and Ἀθηναῖος in *SGDI*, 2566, l. 51 (269 B. C.). In each case the father's name is Dio.<sup>261</sup>

CHRYSIPPUS. The Stoic philosopher Chrysippus of Soli, son of Apollonius of Tarsus, went to Athens about 260 B. C., where he became the pupil of Cleanthes. After the death of Cleanthes in 232/1 B. C. he succeeded him as head of the school. At some time between his arrival at Athens and his death in 208/4 B. C. he was admitted to citizenship.<sup>262</sup>

255 *S. vv.* Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος and Ἀπολλόδωρος Γελῶος.

256 Capps, *loc. cit.*

257 Robinson, *Ancient Sinope*, 270 f.; Capps, *AJA*, IV (1900), 83, n. Cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 60 f.

258 *IG*, II, 3343.

259 Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*

260 Capps, *op. cit.*, 83; *BCH*, VII (1883), 104, 106; Robinson, *AJPh*, XXV (1904), 184 ff.; *Ancient Sinope*, 270.

261 Preuner, *Delph. Weihgeschenk*, 76; O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 99, No. 218.

262 Plut. *De Stoic. rep.* 1034a; Pauly-Wiss., III, 2, 2502, s. v. Chrysippos.

POLEMON. Polemon, a Stoic philosopher and a noted grammarian, lived at the beginning of the second century B. C. He was a native of Samos or Sicyon according to Athenaeus,<sup>263</sup> or of Ilium according to Suidas.<sup>264</sup> He received Athenian citizenship.<sup>265</sup>

CARNEADES. The philosopher Carneades was a native of Cyrene<sup>266</sup> and lived from 214/3 to 129/8 B. C. He early came to Athens, where he attended the lectures of the Stoics. He attached himself to the Academy and upon the death of Hegesinus he became head of the school. Between 178 and 175 B. C. Attalus and Ariarathes dedicated to Carneades a statue which bears the inscription, *Καρνεάδην Ἀζηνιέα*.<sup>267</sup> As Carneades was enrolled in the deme Azenia he had been admitted to Athenian citizenship. He became head of the school about 180 B. C. The grant occurred between this date and 178-175 B. C.<sup>268</sup>

DIOMEDES. "The comic poet Diomedes, whose statue was set up in the theatre (*IG*, III, 952), is found in an inscription from Magnesia on the Meander (*MAI*, XIX, 96) as Δ. Ἀθηνοδώρου Περγαμηνός; but in a dedication in his honor found at Epidaurus (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1883, 27) we have Δ. Ἀθηνοδώρου Ἀθηναῖος."<sup>269</sup> His Athenian citizenship is also shown by the fact that as a tragic actor he was a representative of the Athenian guild of *technitai* at Delphi in 106 B. C.<sup>270</sup>

CAPITO. In a dedicatory inscription<sup>271</sup> found in the Athenian theatre the poet Quintus Pompeius Capito is called both Περγαμηνός and Ἀθηναῖος. It is very probable that Capito was granted Athenian citizenship.<sup>272</sup>

263 vi. 234d.

264 *S. v.* Πολέμων.

265 *Ibid.*

266 Diog. Laert. iv. 62; Suid. s. v. Καρνεάδης.

267 *IG*, II, 1406.

268 Ferguson, *Klio*, VIII (1908), 352.

269 Capps, *AJPh*, XXI (1900), 47, n. 2.

270 *BCH*, XXX (1906), p. 288, No. 50, l. 34; O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 72 and p. 92, No. 145.

271 *IG*, III, 769.

272 Capps, *loc. cit.*

There remain a number of cases in which, although the circumstances have suggested a grant of citizenship, yet the evidence is not sufficiently strong to be accepted as conclusive.

ARISTOPHANES. Suidas<sup>273</sup> calls Aristophanes a Rhodian or Lydian, and cites others as authority for Egyptian or Camirean, adding that he was enrolled in the citizen-body. Heliodorus<sup>274</sup> says that he was born at Naucratis. Furthermore, lines 646-654 of the *Acharnians* indicate that there was some connection between Aristophanes and Aegina.<sup>275</sup> On the other hand *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>. 865 gives his name under the deme Κυδαθηναίων, and *CIG*, 6030 gives 'Α. Φιλίππιδου 'Αθηναῖος. Both the character and the weight of the evidence make Aristophanes a native Athenian.<sup>276</sup>

In only one case is it possible to discern the source of the opinion that Aristophanes was not a native Athenian, namely, that which assigns him to Aegina. Kaibel<sup>277</sup> advocates the view, restated by Kent<sup>278</sup> that "the most probable explanation—derived from the scholia—is that either he or his father was a cleruch in the division of the island amongst Athenian settlers in 431." Van Leeuwen<sup>279</sup> believes that Philip, the father of Aristophanes, was one of the Aeginetans who emigrated to Athens and there received citizenship a generation before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

METAGENES. Metagenes, a comic poet contemporary with Aristophanes, was the son of a slave and also an Athenian, according to Suidas.<sup>280</sup>

273 *S. v.* 'Αριστοφάνης.

274 *Athen.* vi. 229e.

275 Cf. *Schol. Achar.* 653 f.; *Vita Aristoph.* in *Schol. Aristoph.*, Dübner, xxvii, ll. 32 ff.; *Schol. Plato Apol.* 19c.

276 'Α. Φιλίππου, τὸ δὲ γένος 'Αθηναῖος, τῶν δήμων Κυδαθηναίεύς, Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς (*Vita Aristoph.* in *Schol. Aristoph.*, Dübner, xxvii, ll. 1-3); 'Α. Φιλίππου, 'Αθηναῖος (*Anonym. De com.*, Kaibel, 8).

277 *Pauly-Wiss.*, II, 1, 971, *s. v.* Aristophanes.

278 *CR*, XIX (1905), 155.

279 *Proleg. ad Aristoph.*, 39.

280 *S. v.* Μεταγένης.

NICOMACHUS. Suidas<sup>281</sup> cites two different persons named Nicomachus, one an Alexandrian, the other an Athenian. The two are to be identified as one.<sup>282</sup> So we are dealing with a Nicomachus Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῆς Τρωικῆς ἢ Ἀθηναῖος.<sup>283</sup>

DIOCLES. Diocles, the comic poet of the fifth century, bears the double *ethnicon* Ἀθηναῖος ἢ Φλιάσιος.<sup>284</sup>

MELETUS. Meletus, the father of Socrates' accuser, is called Θραξ γένος.<sup>285</sup> But his son is called Πιθεύς by Diogenes Laertius<sup>286</sup> and Plato.<sup>287</sup> From these statements we can conclude nothing as to the enfranchisement of Meletus himself, although his family may have been of Thracian origin.

ALEXIS. Suidas<sup>288</sup> states two facts concerning Alexis' nationality: (1) he was a Thurian; (2) he was the uncle of Menander. Menander was an Athenian citizen, the son of Diopithes, of the deme Cephisia.<sup>289</sup> If both these statements are true, then Alexis may have been an Athenian by grant. But the second point, that Alexis was Menander's uncle, is questionable. It may have arisen from the fact that Menander was the pupil of Alexis.<sup>290</sup> But, even granting the relationship between Alexis and Menander, we cannot make out a clear case of citizenship by grant. We have no information that Diopithes was other than a native Athenian. If the family was of Italian origin, it was probably the father of Diopithes and Alexis who was made an Athenian. He emigrated to Athens and received citizenship soon after

281 *S. v.* Νικόμαχος.

282 Meineke, *op. cit.*, 496.

283 Krause, *op. cit.*, 11.

284 Suid. *s. v.* Διοκλῆς.

285 Schol. Plato *Apol.* 18b.

286 *ii.* 40.

287 *Euthyphr.* 2b.

288 *S. v.* Ἀλεξίς.

289 *CIG*, 6084.

290 Kaibel, Pauly-Wiss., I, 2, 1468, *s. v.* Alexis; Kirchner, *op. cit.*, I, No. 549. Suidas confuses Alexis with Antiphanes, assigning Stephanus, the son of Antiphanes, to Alexis. (Anonym. *De com.*, Kaibel, 9).

Dionysius crushed Thurii in 390 B. C. As the children are also included in the grant, Diopithes<sup>291</sup> and Alexis<sup>292</sup> would have been enrolled in the deme of their father as Athenian citizens. Then the *ethnicon* Θούριος used by Suidas could be given no official significance, and not even a personal application. Again, if we suppose that Diopithes himself was granted citizenship—an act which is nowhere alluded to—we have no evidence whatever to prove that Alexis also received citizenship. Therefore, for lack of evidence, Alexis must be left out of the list of δημοποίητοι.<sup>293</sup>

ARISTODEMUS. The actor Aristodemus was born at Metapontum in Italy: Μεταποντίνος δ' ἦν τὸ γένος.<sup>294</sup> He was a member of the Athenian embassy to Philip in 346 B. C.<sup>295</sup> This fact is regarded as conclusive proof—but perhaps hastily—that he had received Athenian citizenship.<sup>296</sup>

NEOPTOLEMUS. The actor Neoptolemus was a native of Scyros: ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος Σκύριος ἦν.<sup>297</sup> He was active in political life, being sent by Philip, together with Aristodemus, to the Athenians with declarations of friendship. O'Connor<sup>298</sup> thinks it probable that he was made an Athenian citizen in view of his influence in bringing the Athenians to accept the peace with Philip. Kirchner<sup>299</sup> states the possibility that Neoptolemus was made an Athenian, on the ground of Schaefer's<sup>300</sup> assertion that only Athenian actors might appear on the stage at Athens. How-

291 Born in 385/4 B. C. (Kirchner, *op. cit.*, I, No. 4319).

292 Born in 376 B. C. (Capps, *op. cit.*, 59).

293 Whether the Alexis Ἀλέξιδος ἐξ Οἴου referred to by Steph. Byz. (s. v. Οἶον) is Alexis the poet we cannot say. Of course they can be identical only in case Alexis is not the uncle of Menander.

294 Schol. Aeschines 2. 15.

295 *Hypothesis* II. 2 to Dem. 19.

296 Schaefer, *op. cit.*, I, 246; Judeich, *Pauly-Wiss.*, II, 1, 923, s. v. Aristodemos; O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 82, No. 62.

297 Schol. Dem. 5. 6.

298 *Op. cit.*, p. 119, No. 359.

299 *Op. cit.*, II, No. 10647.

300 *Op. cit.*, I, 246. Cf. Van Leeuwen, *op. cit.*, 42.

ever, this assumption is groundless, for the Athenian victors'-lists show that many members of the Athenian guild were not Athenians.<sup>301</sup> Kirchner's<sup>302</sup> suggestion of a relationship between Neoptolemus of Scyros<sup>303</sup> and Neoptolemus the Athenian<sup>304</sup> is also problematical. There is no conclusive evidence that Neoptolemus was granted citizenship.

AMPHIS. In a decree of the year 332/1 B. C.<sup>305</sup> Amphis is called an Andrian: "Ανφίς Δι . . . . . "Ανδριος. The name "Αμφίς is not Attic.<sup>306</sup> Suidas<sup>307</sup> calls him an Athenian. We cannot include Amphis in the list of δημοποίητοι unless we are certain that Suidas used the *ethnicon* in its official sense.

DIPHILUS. Diphilus was a native of Sinope.<sup>308</sup> On the other hand Auctor *Lex. Hermann.*, 324 makes him a member of the Athenian deme Σημαχίδαι. Evidently the latter was deceived by the fact that Diphilus lived at Athens, for on his grave-stone he still bore the *ethnicon* Σινωπεύς.<sup>309</sup>

SOSITHEUS. Sositheus, a tragic poet of the time of Ptolemy II, bears three *ethnica*: Συρακούσιος ἢ Ἀθηναῖος, μᾶλλον δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῆς Τρωικῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας.<sup>310</sup>

HEDYLUS. Hedylus, a poet of the third century B. C., is designated as ὁ Σάμιος ἢ Ἀθηναῖος by Athenaeus.<sup>311</sup>

Besides those cases which must be dismissed because the evidence is not conclusive, the cases of Metagenes, Nicomachus, Diocles, Alexis, Amphis, Sositheus, and Hedylus raise a question which must be answered in the affirmative before a grant of citizenship may be assumed.

301 O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

302 *Loc. cit.*

303 O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 119, No. 359.

304 *Ibid.*, p. 120, No. 360.

305 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 347.

306 Kirchner, *op. cit.*, I, No. 785.

307 *S. v.* "Αμφίς.

308 Strabo xii. 3. 11; Anonym. *De com.*, Kaibel, 10.

309 *IG*, II, 3343. Cf. Diodorus on p. 72.

310 Suid. *s. v.* Σωσίθεος.

311 vii. 297a.

Do the lexicographers, particularly Suidas, use *ethnica* consistently in their official sense to denote citizenship in the places mentioned?

This plurality of *ethnica* arose from the fact that Suidas used several sources, in which he found different nationalities attributed to the same person. How did this difference arise in the sources, and do the *ethnica* there imply citizenship? In some instances it is apparent that there was general agreement as to the region from which a person had come, the difference resulting from the necessity of choosing one of a number of places closely situated to one another. Thus Stesichorus is said to come from Sicily or Italy; Simonides from Carystus or Euboea; Choerilus from Samos, Iasus, or Halicarnassus; and Mimnermus from Colophon, Smyrna, or Astypalaea.

But a more prolific source of the plurality of *ethnica* is to be found in the fact that poets were in the habit of traveling from place to place to exhibit their productions. Aeschylus, Ion, Alexis, Antiphanes, Diphilus, Diodorus, Pratinas, Aristias, Apollodorus, Aristarchus, Achaeus, and others changed their place of residence at one time or another. In some cases this fact was known and noted;<sup>312</sup> in others the lexicographer confused birthplace and later residence, and hence various nationalities were attributed to the same person. Thus the Athenian Carcinus was in one of the sources of Suidas called Carcinus of Agrigentum, probably because he spent a great part of his life at the court of Dionysius II.<sup>313</sup> Phylarchus, called *Ναυκρατίτης* in one of the sources of Athenaeus, was an Athenian who lived for a time at Naucratis.<sup>314</sup>

As Athens was the center of the literary world and as it must have been the aim of every ambitious poet to win a victory at the Dionysia, foreign poets gathered there in greater numbers than in any other place; and consequently it was but natural that some of them should be mistaken for Athenians, especially as the didascalie

312 Cf. Suid. s. v. *Εὐρυπίδης*.

313 Diog. Laert. ii. 63.

314 Koehler, *RhMPh*, LIII (1898), 491, n. 1.

records gave no hint as to their nationality. So the statement that Sositheus of Alexandria was an Athenian may very well have arisen from the fact that he lived at Athens and was buried there.<sup>315</sup> Nicomachus of Alexandria Troas received the *ethnicon* Ἀθηναῖος for the same reason.<sup>316</sup> And Auctor *Lex. Hermann.*<sup>317</sup> makes a palpable error when he calls Diphilus an Athenian.<sup>318</sup> Likewise Suidas<sup>319</sup> calls Diogenes the Cynic an Athenian, though he was in fact a citizen of Sinope. The authority from whom Suidas drew his information had evidently been misled by the fact that Diogenes moved to Athens.<sup>320</sup>

Since Suidas found the *ethnica* employed in several senses in his sources, we must determine whether he interpreted and used them correctly. In some instances he did so. He tells us that Polygnotus was a Thasian by birth and an Athenian by adoption, and that Neophron was a Sicyonian by birth and a Macedonian by residence. But in many cases he adds no explanation. The accuracy of usage in such instances must be determined by his methods in general. In the first place, Suidas was careless in copying from his sources, sometimes not even taking the trouble to note the nationality which he found there. For instance, under Diodorus he cites Athenaeus for the names of the plays, but makes no reference to the nationality of the poet, although Athenaeus<sup>321</sup> states that he was a citizen of Sinope. Again, in copying the *ethnica*, Suidas sometimes gives his source,<sup>322</sup> and occasionally gives us his own judgment, influenced either by an agreement between a number of the sources or by the

315 Welcker, *Griech. Tragöd.*, III, 1254 f.

316 Meineke, *op. cit.*, 498.

317 324.

318 *IG*, II, 3343.

319 *S. v.* Διογένης.

320 Krause, *op. cit.*, 9.

321 x. 431c.

322 E. g., Φιλιστίων Προυσαεύς, ἢ ὡς Φίλων Σαρδανός (Suid. s. v. Φιλιστίων).

trustworthiness of a particular source.<sup>323</sup> Errors of judgment often led Suidas to incorrect conclusions. When several sources gave the same name, but different facts, he sometimes grouped all the statements under one *lemma*, thus erroneously identifying two distinct persons, as in the case of Hegesippus,<sup>324</sup> and of Alcaeus.<sup>325</sup> On the other hand, when different authorities noted both different facts and different nationalities for the same person, he sometimes erred by making two persons out of one, as happened in the case of Nicomachus.<sup>326</sup> Therefore, since we have found individual instances in which plurality of *ethnica* did not mean plurality of citizenship, and since we have found that Suidas' general methods are careless, we must conclude that Suidas does not use *ethnica* consistently in their official sense to denote citizenship in the places mentioned; and when we meet cases involving plurality of *ethnica* about which we possess no further information, we are not justified in going so far as to assume plurality of citizenship.

We have found several instances in which citizenship was granted to literary men. Can the reason be explained under the law of ἀνδραγαθία? Non-Attic inscriptions furnish some information with regard to poets. Szanto<sup>327</sup> cites three instances of grants of citizenship to poets. Dioscurides was thus honored by Cnossus, Dymas by Samothrace, and a poetess of Smyrna by Lamia, because they glorified these states in verse. These inscriptions are late and, as Szanto adds, this political recognition of poetical services was in general a product of the time after Alexander, for states in the period of their decline were more susceptible to flattery. Whether

323 Cf. Ὡλήν, Δυμαῖος ἢ Ὑπερβόρειος ἢ Λύκιος, μᾶλλον δὲ Λύκιος ἀπὸ Εἰάνθου, ὡς δηλοῖ Καλλίμαχος καὶ ὁ Πολυΐστωρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λυκίας (Suid. s. v. Ὡλήν); Φύλαρχος, Ἀθηναῖος ἢ Ναυκρατίτης [following Athenaeus] · οἱ δὲ Σικυώνιον, ἄλλοι δὲ Αἰγύπτιον (Suid. s. v. Φύλαρχος).

324 Meineke, *op. cit.*, 475.

325 Pauly-Wiss., I, 2, 1506, s. v. Alkaios.

326 Meineke, *op. cit.*, 496.

327 *Op. cit.*, 48.

Athens followed the practice of smaller states in thus rewarding the poetical effusions of a eulogistic character, either in the fifth and fourth centuries, or in this later period, we do not know absolutely. It is not at all likely that such a practice existed in the earlier period at any rate. Indeed, a precedent like this, once established by Athens, could not have failed to call forth a grand outburst of praise, and either the practice or the persons benefited by it would certainly have been lashed by the caustic tongue of some comic poet.

What, then, was the reason for these grants of citizenship? The facts which bear on this question are of three different classes and furnish three possible answers.

When Aristodemus the actor, who was in Philip's good graces, was about to depart for Macedonia to participate in the Olympic festival there, the Athenians commissioned him to treat with Philip for the release of the captives taken at Olynthus in 348 B. C. Upon his return to Athens in 347 he reported to both the senate and the assembly the kind feeling of Philip toward the Athenians and his desire for peace. He was even credited with being the originator of the peace. For the successful execution of his mission Demosthenes moved to crown Aristodemus.<sup>328</sup> He was then chosen a member of the embassy sent to arrange terms of peace with Philip, and a special measure was passed to prevent his suffering financial loss through the breaking of professional engagements. Cicero<sup>329</sup> refers to the great political influence of Aristodemus: *Aristodemum, tragicum item actorem, maximis de rebus pacis et belli legatum ad Philippum Athenienses saepe miserunt.*

The comic poet Philippides was praised and voted a golden crown and a bronze statue in recognition of his many political services to the Athenians. The motivation of these honors shows how varied and long continued these services were. As an intimate of King Lysimachus he was of particular value to the Athenian government

328 Aeschines 2. 17.

329 *De re pub.* iv. 11.

in its relations with Thrace. His services include such things as a gift of grain to the people in 299/8 B. C., at his own expense burying Athenians killed in battle, obtaining the release of prisoners of war, securing enrolment in divisions of the army for those who wished to enter military service and providing clothing and traveling expenses for those who preferred to depart, service to the cause of Athenian freedom, giving his personal interest and financial aid to the religious festivals, sacrifices, and games, and assisting every Athenian who appealed to him.<sup>330</sup>

Aristodemus and Philippides were not exceptional cases. Actors and poets did not surrender themselves to their art. Neoptolemus was sent by Philip along with Aristodemus to the Athenians with declarations of friendship, and he too was influential in bringing about the peace with Philip. Ischander, who had friends in Arcadia, "was brought by Aeschines before the Athenian senate and ecclesia to present certain political proposals from them." Sophocles took an active part in public life; Theognis was one of the Thirty; and Morsimus strove to improve the physical, as well as to entertain the aesthetic, side of man. Such instances might be multiplied. In fact, literary men occupied a unique position as regards their ability to render public service. They were members of a privileged class whose profession was a passport which secured for them freedom of travel during time of peace or war. They were favorably received even at the court of their nation's enemy.<sup>331</sup> They were no stay-at-homes, for the duties of their profession called them from city to city. Of course they were familiar figures at Athens, possessed a thorough knowledge of Athenian life, both public and private, rubbed elbows with the common Athenian on the street, talked politics with the politicians, and discussed governmental policies with the leading magistrates. And yet they often maintained the closest relations with their native countries, in

330 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 657 (287/6 B. C. or 285/4 B. C.).

331 *Hypothesis* II. 2 to Dem. 19; Dem. 5. 6.

some cases continuing to reside there, or at least dividing the year between Athens and their own cities. And they were among the most distinguished men of their respective nations. Ion is ranked as one of the greatest of the Chians. It was quite natural that men so eminently fitted should be chosen to perform some ambassadorial function. They may have been commissioned by the Athenians to attend to sundry matters connected with their respective states, or they themselves may have made such good use of their advantageous position to render public service as to win the gratitude of the Athenians. Since this gratitude found expression in the bestowal of other honors, there is every reason to believe that members of this class were as eligible as any others to receive citizenship in recognition of public service in the political field.

The second set of facts bearing on the reason for grants of citizenship to literary men affects actors and poets especially.

In *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 223*B*, ll. 7-8 (343/2 B. C.) the senate is commended and crowned ἐπειδὴ — — — καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐπε[μελή]θη [τ]ῆς εὐκοσμίας τοῦ θεάτρου. In *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 551 (before 309/8 B. C.) a flute-player is praised and crowned [ἐπειδὴ Νικόστρ]ατος διατελεῖ περ[ὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Δι.]ονυσίων φιλοτιμο[ύ]μενος καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιμέλεια[ν καὶ τοῖς χορηγο]ῖς τοῖς αἰεὶ χορηγοῦσιν προθύμως ὑπηρετῶν τὰ περὶ τοῦ[ς θεοῦς]. Honors were granted in these two cases for services rendered to the gods.

In *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1186 (ca. 450 B. C.) Damasias, a Theban schoolmaster at Eleusis, is praised and crowned ἐπε[ιδὴ] — — — οἱ[κ]ή[σ]ας Ἐλευσίνοι κόσμιός τε ὦ[ν] διατετ[έλ]εκε καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔχει πρὸς πάντ[α]ς τοὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ οἰκοῦντας, καὶ α[ὐτ]ὸς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Διονύσι[α π]οιοῦντων Ἐλευσινίων ἐσπούδασε[ν καὶ] ἐφιλοτιμήθη πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κα[ὶ τ]ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσιν[ίων], ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα γένηται τὰ Διονύσι[α], καὶ παρασκευάσας τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλ[εσ]ι χοροὺς δύο, τὸν μὲν παίδων, τὸν δὲ ἀν[δρ]ῶν ἐπέδωκεν τῇ Δήμητρι κα[ὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ. In *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 410 (ca. 330 B. C.) the priests of Dionysus are honored ἐπιμελείας [ἐνεκα] τῆς περὶ τὰ ἱερά. In the former decree Damasias' ambition to see

the Dionysia as splendid as possible and his contribution of money and effort to make the festival such were considered a service not only to the gods (πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς), but also to the state (πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων). In the second decree the service which was rendered by the priests in connection with the sacrifices to the gods was similarly regarded as a service to the state, for the sacrifices were offered ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων. So the honor was granted not only for service to the gods but also ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων.<sup>332</sup>

To come to the cases under consideration, we find that actors also were honored for their services at the Dionysia. In *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 348 (331/0 B. C.) an actor is praised ἐπειδὴ — — — [τοῖς τε Διονυσίοις ὑπεκρ]ίνατ[ο φιλοτίμως ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐ]στὶ[ν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ Ἀθηναίους].<sup>333</sup> In *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 429 (after 336/5 B. C.) an actor is praised [ἐπειδὴ — — — χρείας διατελεῖ π]αρε[χόμενος τοῖς χορηγοῖς το]ῖς αὐτο[ῦ αὐτὸς διδάσκων τε καὶ] ὑποκρινό[μενος τὰ αὐτοῦ δράματ]α καὶ οὐδέ[ποτε παραλείπων τὸν] ἀγῶνα τὸν Δ[ιονυσίων αἰεὶ τι ποι]εῖ ἀγαθὸν [καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ] κοινῇ [καὶ ἰδίᾳ τὸν τε δῆμον τὸν] Ἀθη[ν]α[ίων]. The exact restoration is doubtful, but the connection with the Dionysia is certain.<sup>334</sup> Here again service rendered to the gods is regarded as a service to the state. In *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 347 (332/1 B. C.)<sup>335</sup> the comic poet Amphis is praised and crowned [ἐ]πειδὴ — — — διατελεῖ ε[ὔνοος ὢν <ὦ>]ν> τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθ[ηναίων κα]ὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ παρ[εληλυθό]τι χρόνῳ, and ἀρ[ετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικ]αιοσύνης. Although the motivation contains no reference to the Dionysia, the fact that the crown was to be of ivy implies such a connection.<sup>336</sup> If that is true, it is fair to assume that his services were rendered in the line of his profession. Since the services of the senate, flute-players, chorus-trainers, priests, and actors in connection with the Dionysia were recognized by the state as evidence of their ἀνδραγαθία, it

332 Cf. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 354 (328/7 B. C.).

333 O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 126, No. 396; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 219.

334 Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 221; O'Connor, *loc. cit.*

335 Wilhelm, *MAI*, XV (1890), 219.

336 *Ibid.*, 221; *Urk. Dram.*, 59.

would have been strange indeed, if such recognition had not been given to poets, whose dramas contributed more than anything else to the glory of the festival. Can we go so far as to say that this recognition took the form of a grant of citizenship? The case of Aristonicus will show that we can. Aristonicus, the Carystian ball-player of the time of Alexander the Great, was granted citizenship and voted a statue διὰ τὴν τέχνην.<sup>337</sup> *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 385 (319/8 B. C.) records this grant of citizenship.<sup>338</sup> Although the stone is so badly mutilated that the specific service cannot be determined, yet there is enough left to show that it contained a general reference to the ἀνδραγαθία of Aristonicus. But in what way did the state regard his skilful ball-playing as an evidence of his ἀνδραγαθία, or as a public service? Manifestly because he displayed his skill at some public exhibition, and the only public exhibition which meets the conditions is a national festival. Aristonicus performed at the Panathenaea, perhaps, where exhibitions of physical skill and strength played a prominent part. By his skilful performance he entertained the people assembled and contributed to the success of the festival. Thus he rendered a public service for which he received citizenship. Therefore, we can readily believe that poets and actors were granted citizenship likewise διὰ τὴν τέχνην in connection with a national festival.

A third reason, probably a development of the preceding and a product of the fourth century, is suggested by the following incident. About 350 B. C. the oligarchs overthrew the democracy at Mytilene and exiled many of the democrats. Some time later they magnanimously recalled most of the exiles. Agenor, a distinguished musician and formerly the instructor of Isocrates' grandsons, was an exile, but was not recalled. So Isocrates, at the urgent request of his grandsons, wrote a letter to the government of Mytilene begging for the recall of Agenor. After commending the moderation of the Mytilenean government toward the exiles, Isocrates<sup>339</sup> continues with

337 Athen. i. 19a.

338 See p. 55.

339 *Ep.* 8. 4.

his argument thus: οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἔδοξε τούτων μηδὲ προσεδέχεσθε μηδένα τῶν φυγάδων, τούτους γε νομίζω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν κατὰγειν. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ὑμῶν ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογεῖσθαι μουσικωτάτην εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους ἐν αὐτῇ παρ' ὑμῖν τυγχάνειν γεγονότας, τὸν δὲ προέχοντα τῶν νῦν ὄντων περὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς παιδείας ταύτης φεύγειν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης πόλεως, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἕλληνας τοὺς διαφέροντας περὶ τι τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ μηδὲν προσήκωσι, ποιεῖσθαι πολίτας, ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς εὐδοκιοῦντάς τε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ μετασχόντας τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως περιορᾶν παρ' ἐτέροις μετοικοῦντας. Isocrates seems to refer to a general practice when he says that the rest of the Greeks admit to citizenship those who are distinguished in τὰ καλὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα. And being an Athenian he would naturally use an Athenian custom as an example. This practice may appear inconsistent with a qualification of past service. It was, in so far as any tangible service is concerned. But, indirectly, persons who were distinguished in "the fine arts" did render some service to the state. As Isocrates<sup>340</sup> says: ὧν [ἐπιστημῶν] ἐνθυμουμένους χρή τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας περὶ πλείστου μὲν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς καλῶς καὶ δικαίως τῆς αὐτῶν πόλεως ἐπιστατοῦντας, δευτέρους δὲ τοὺς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῇ καλὴν συμβαλέσθαι δυναμένους· ἅπαντες γὰρ ὥσπερ δείγματι τοῖς τοιούτοις χρώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους ὁμοίους εἶναι τούτοις νομίζουσιν. This third reason may have been applied to such cases as Carneades, where the grant of citizenship probably was not based upon any definite act of public service. Grants based upon this reason, like all the others, would give the ἀνδραγαθία of the new citizen as the motivation.

340 *Ep.* 8. 6.

## CHAPTER IV

### PURPOSE OF THE GRANT OF CITIZENSHIP

'Ανδραγαθία εἰς τὸν δῆμον was the officially recognized basis for granting citizenship in the cases reviewed, and ἀνδραγαθία was shown by specific services of various kinds. From the viewpoint of the individual they were the requirements which he was compelled to satisfy in order to be eligible for citizenship. Now in the case of the enfranchisement of Thessalians and Andrians,<sup>1</sup> referred to by Andocides,<sup>2</sup> the reason assigned, δι' ἀπορίαν ἀνδρῶν, obviously does not refer to any condition which was fulfilled by the individuals. Rather, Andocides is giving the reason for the grant as seen from the viewpoint of the state. Let us consider this side of the question next, i. e., the purpose of the state in admitting aliens to citizenship on the condition of ἀνδραγαθία.

Two motives, which operated under different conditions, actuated the state in granting citizenship to large masses of people who already dwelt within its borders.

Enrolment of citizens *en masse* was sometimes used as the solution of social and economic problems which arose as the principles of democracy spread and the life of the nation broadened. Such a general grant of citizenship was made by Clisthenes.<sup>3</sup>

Again, this method was used as a remedy when the number of the citizen-body had diminished greatly (δι' ἀπορίαν ἀνδρῶν). There is a certain minimum below which the number of citizens may not fall, if the functions of government are to be administered properly. This minimum is often reached during the course of a long and bloody war. At such times the granting of citizenship to aliens may become of the utmost importance as affording a means by which the decimated citizen-body may be increased and brought up to a number

1 See p. 39.

2 i. 149.

3 Aristot. *Pol.* iii. 1275b 37; *Ath. Pol.* 21.

adequate to continue the various functions of the state. Thus toward the close of the Peloponnesian war, when battle and disease had so thinned the ranks of citizens that Athens was no longer able to continue the operations of war on a large scale, metics and foreigners were enfranchised in order to secure enough men to man the fleet before the battle of Arginusae.<sup>4</sup> And after the fall of Athens vacancies caused by war were filled by the creation of new citizens. Andocides refers to this practice in connection with the Thessalians and Andrians.<sup>5</sup> In the latter instance it is certainly true, as Szanto<sup>6</sup> says, that the official motivation of the grant was ἀνδραγαθία πρὸς τὸν δῆμον.

Grants to individuals, however, were looked upon in a different light. That they were not made to augment a decimated citizen-body is shown by the fact that no law required the recipient to become a citizen *de facto*, or in any way to change his relation to his native state.

The purpose of the state in conferring citizenship in such cases bears a close relation to the conditions which made its acquisition possible. Public service was the officially recognized requirement for citizenship, and the state held out its franchise as a reward in order to gain such service. This purpose is first expressed, in a decree of citizenship, in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 222 of the year 331 B. C. or later, where citizenship is granted [ὅπως ἂν] εἰδῶσιν ἅπαντ[ε]ς ὅτι ὁ δῆμος [ὁ Ἀθ]ηναίων ἀποδίδωσιν χάριτας μ[εγ]άλας τοῖς εὐεργετοῦσιν εἰαυτὸ[ν καὶ] διαμένουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐνοίας[ε το]ῦ δήμου.<sup>7</sup> For the same purpose the honors were proclaimed at the Dionysia,<sup>8</sup> and the decree was published [ὅπως δ' ἂν εἰδῶσι καὶ] οἱ ἄλλοι [ὅ]τι χ[άριτας ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ δῆμος] τοῖς ἐ[α]υτοῦ εὐεργετοῦσι ἀξίαις.<sup>9</sup> That the state hoped to arouse emulation on the part of others by thus conferring honors and advertising the fact is expressed more pointedly in a

4 See p. 36.

5 See p. 39.

6 Szanto, *Untersuch. ü. d. att. Bürgerr.*, 30.

7 Ll. 11-16.

8 Dem. 18. 120.

9 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 391, ll. 10-12 (321/0-319/8 B. C.).

formula which occurs first, in one form, in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 553 (ca. 307 B. C.) : ὅπως ἂν κ[αί] οἱ ἄλλοι π[άντες φιλοτιμῶν]ται πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν [Ἀθηναίων εἰδότες ὅτι χάρι]τ[α]ς αὐτ[οῖ]ς [ἀποδίδωσιν].<sup>10</sup>

Persons who received minor honors were often urged to render further services in the hope of receiving further honors. Citizenship was thus promised in a general way. Sometimes a definite service was stipulated upon the fulfilment of which specific rewards were promised, as in *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 791 (ca. 232/1 B. C.) : τοὺς βουλομένους τῶ[ν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλ]λων τῶν οἰκούντων ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιιδό[ναι εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας ἐ[παγγεί]λασθαι τῇ β[ουλή] ἢ πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀπογράψα[σθαι ἐντὸς μηνὸς Μο]υνηχιῶνος· μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ μηθὲν ἐπιδοῦνα[ι πλέον ΗΗ δραχμῶν] μὴδ' ἔλαττον [Ἦ· εἶναι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιδοῦσι [στεφανωθῆναι τε καὶ] ἐπαινεθῆναι καὶ τιμηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμ[ου καθότι ἂν ἡ ἄξι]ος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν.<sup>11</sup> In the same way before the battle of Arginusae citizenship was promised to all metics and other foreigners who should volunteer to enlist in the Athenian forces.<sup>12</sup> And frequently the person to whom citizenship was granted was invited to strive for further honors by a continuance of his good works : εἶναι δὲ α[ὐτῷ] καὶ εἰς τὸν με]τὰ ταῦτα χρόνον διατηροῦντ[ι τὴν αὐτὴν αἴρ]εσιν εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τῆς [βου]λ[ῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμ]ου καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθόν, ὅτου ἂ[ν] δοκ[ῇ ἄξι]ος εἶναι.<sup>13</sup>

Not only did the state promise citizenship on condition of the performance of a certain service, but it went even further and granted citizenship at least partly upon the promise of future services. This is the case with Oxythemis, whose honor is based not only upon past services, but also upon the expectation of others in the future : ὅπως ἂν τετιμημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου [π]ράττη καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὥς ἂν ὑπὲρ πολιτῶν ὃ τι ἂν ὑπολαμβάνῃ συμφέ-ρ(ε)ιν αὐτοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν.<sup>14</sup> And during the fourth century

10 L1. 18-20.

11 L1. 15-22.

12 Diodor. xiii. 97.

13 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 856, ll. 8-11.

14 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 558, ll. 31-36 (ca. 303/2 B. C.).

frequent literary references are made to the practice of granting citizenship to persons who had performed no marked service toward the state, but whose influence was so great that their co-operation would be of great benefit if their friendship could be secured. More than that, even men who had formerly been enemies of the state were honored with citizenship. In speaking of Charidemus Demosthenes<sup>15</sup> says: "All other men who have ever obtained a grant from you have been honored for services rendered; this is the only one of all who has been honored for abortive attempts to injure you." Certainly the act for which Charidemus was made a citizen was not a hostile one, yet it seems to be true that he had been guilty of acting against the interests of the Athenian State. Again Demosthenes<sup>16</sup> says: "I did not see that any tremendous evil would befall you if you forgave a man all his offenses and invited him to render you services in the future, for in your crowning him and making him a citizen both these things were involved."<sup>17</sup> The grant was held out to the recipient as a sop. It was expected that, like Sadocus, he would henceforth regard himself as an Athenian and the rest of the Athenians as his fellow citizens, and that in consequence he would be ever active and zealous to promote the interests of Athens.

In granting citizenship, therefore, the Athenians were not actuated by an altruistic desire to share with foreigners the rights and privileges which they themselves enjoyed. The Solonian law had aimed to supply the local need of business men and industrial workers. It had, it is true, admitted these men to citizenship, but from selfish motives; for the admission of each new citizen made the privileges of the former ones less, a result which of course would be more noticeable in a small citizen-body. Likewise in establishing ἀνδραγαθία as the condition of citizenship the motive of the state was a selfish one, to

15 23. 185.

16 23. 188.

17 Cf. [Dem.] 13. 24.

profit by the service rendered before the grant, and also to secure the continual good-will of the new citizen and to incite others to imitate him.

The result of this policy was that the state overreached itself. While ἀνδραγαθία continued to be recognized officially as the condition of citizenship, the spirit of the law was lost. The qualification of public service became less and less strictly enforced as the motive of the grant, i. e., the hope of future benefit, assumed greater importance than the requirement of past service. This led to the admission of persons who had done no particular service to the state, and also of those who, though they had performed some service, had done so incidentally and in the furtherance of their own interests, as did Pytho and Heraclides, who slew Cotys, not to rid Athens of a relentless foe, but to avenge their father.<sup>18</sup>

Laxity in the application of the rule was accompanied by practices which steadily depreciated the value of the grant. Demosthenes<sup>19</sup> contrasts its worthlessness in his day with its value in the early part of the fifth century, when men were willing to render important services in order to acquire it. The increase in the frequency of grants was one of the factors which contributed to this result. Isocrates<sup>20</sup> says: "It is our pride and boast that we are of nobler descent than others, but we are more ready to share this distinction with any who desire it than the Triballians or Leucanians are to share their ignoble origin." This prodigality lessened the value of the grant because, as the number of individuals who received the honor increased, the significance which each attached to the distinction became less.<sup>21</sup> The value of the grant was depreciated also by the corrupt practices which grew up in connection with the introduction and passing of decrees of citizenship, and which made bribery a more effective means of securing the grant than good services.

18 Aristot. *Pol.* v. 1311b 20-22; Schaefer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, I, 157.

19 23. 200.

20 8. 50.

21 Schoeman, *Griech. Alterth.*, I, 374.

Thus Demosthenes<sup>22</sup> declares that "not only has the gift of the commonwealth become vile and contemptible, but all have become so through the wickedness of the detestable orators who draw up these decrees without scruple, who have carried their disgraceful cupidity to such an excess that, like men who put up wretched trumpery for auction, they sell your honors and rewards at the cheapest prices, drawing for a number of people on the same terms any decree they like to have." Again he says:<sup>23</sup> "Now, my countrymen, it [citizenship] is exposed for common sale; the most abandoned of mankind, the slaves of slaves, are permitted to pay down the price and at once obtain it."<sup>24</sup> The mercenary general Charidemus seems to have kept paid agents at Athens to propose honorary votes in his favor.<sup>25</sup> When through corrupt practices men of worthless character were admitted, the offer of citizenship became a questionable honor.

Entire faith cannot be placed in the charges brought by one litigant against another, yet it is no doubt true that persons obtained citizenship by bribery. In this respect the custom of granting citizenship and other honors in return for contributions to the state exercised an unwholesome influence. Citizenship was granted for gifts of war materials, grain, etc., to the state, and also for contributions toward the purchase of such necessities. The earliest extant decree of citizenship which refers to this practice was passed in 321/0-319/8 B. C.,<sup>26</sup> but there is earlier inscriptional evidence of the existence of this practice in connection with other honors, and there are literary notices of its earlier existence in connection with grants of citizenship. The heavy expense and trouble which were met by those who sought the gift of citizenship are referred to in the speech *Against Neaera*.<sup>27</sup> Unscrupulous men who had charge of such funds or the ob-

22 23. 200.

23 *Ibid.*, 196.

24 Cf. [Dem.] 13. 24; Andoc. 2. 23.

25 Dem. 23. 185 f.

26 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 391.

27 13.

jects for which they were contributed undoubtedly found an opportunity for private gain or party advancement. With such purposes in view corrupt men pushed through certain cases of citizenship. Outright illegal purchase of citizenship by paying a member of the assembly or senate to champion one's case represents the last and most unvarnished phase in the development of bribery in connection with grants of citizenship.

We have seen that the motive of the state in granting citizenship was a purely selfish one, that it led to laxity in the application of the rule, and that the consequent frequency of the grant and corrupt practices depreciated the value of the grant. Let us next consider to what degree the purpose of the state was realized.

In so far as citizenship was granted to persons who had already served the state because of their attachment to it, particularly if they affiliated themselves with it, the purpose of the grant was realized. Evagoras is a striking example of a man who remained true to his adoptive state even through the period of its greatest misfortunes. After the disastrous outcome of the battle of Aegospotami Conon fled to Evagoras for refuge, "selecting him out of all because he thought that, by taking refuge with him, he would find the greatest personal security, and at the same time the most speedy assistance for the city."<sup>28</sup> For seven years Conon remained at the court of Evagoras, which by this time had become a general place of asylum for Greeks who found conditions in their home cities intolerable. It was largely through his influence at the Persian court that the King provided money for the equipment of the fleet which won the great victory of Cnidus over the Lacedaemonians in 394 B. C. "While it took place under the command of Conon, it was Evagoras who made it possible and provided the greater part of the forces." In return for these further services the Athenians conferred the highest honors upon him, setting up his statue in the same place where the statue of Zeus the Preserver stood.

28 Isoc. 9. 52. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1. 29; Diodor. xiii. 106.

Persons who, before they were made Athenians, had shown no particular favor toward Athens afterwards became loyal to the state. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war Sadocus, son of Sitalces, was made an Athenian in connection with the conclusion of an alliance between Athens and Thrace. Later, when Lacedaemonian ambassadors went to Sitalces to persuade him to leave the Athenian alliance and to aid Potidaea which was being besieged by the Athenians, Sadocus was induced by the Athenian representatives to surrender the Spartans to them on the ground that, as he had become an Athenian citizen, it was now his patriotic duty to prevent the Lacedaemonian ambassadors from securing further aid against his adoptive state.

Even men who had formerly been enemies of Athens rendered her valuable services, once they had been honored with citizenship. In 349 B. C., when Phocion had crossed over into Euboea to co-operate with the traitorous Plutarch, Callias the leader of the Chalcidians declared war against Athens, and aided by a Macedonian force placed Phocion in a most precarious position, from which he was rescued only by the intrepidity of his men. Callias then took refuge with Philip. But in 341/0 B. C., after Callias had become the ally of Athens and had received citizenship, he assisted Athenians under Phocion in liberating Oreus and Eretria. In the Euboic synod which was then established Callias was the champion of Athens and the enemy of Philip. He canvassed the Peloponnesus in an effort to organize a confederacy against Philip. The latter in his letter to the Athenians called him their general and complained of his aggressions. In such cases as this it is evident that the change of attitude of the recipient of citizenship was not caused by the grant itself, but by a change of the direction in which his own interests lay; of this change of interest the grant is merely the indication. However the state intended the grant to bind securely the newly-made ties of friendship.

On the other hand the purpose of the state was not always realized, for it is easy to find instances of subsequent disloyalty on the part of new citizens. Pytho of

Aenus who slew Cotys king of Thrace, an enemy of the Athenians, fled to Athens and received citizenship; yet he afterwards went over to her enemy, Philip of Macedon.

About 367 B. C. Philiscus of Abydus was granted citizenship in connection with Ariobarzanes whose lieutenant he was. After that he seems to have aided the Athenians in the Hellespont and to have given pay to the mercenaries in Perinthus, but according to Demosthenes<sup>29</sup> he later changed his attitude, got possession of Greek cities, took up his quarters in them, and committed such outrages that he was finally slain by two citizens of Lampsacus. The assassins fled to Lesbos where they were left undisturbed by the Athenians because Philiscus, although he had been made an Athenian, had become the enemy of Athens.

Cotys, king of Thrace, furnishes a still more striking example of disloyalty. He was made an Athenian sometime prior to 365 B. C. How well his subsequent conduct harmonized with his early professions is shown clearly by Demosthenes<sup>30</sup> who says: "Cotys, whenever he was engaged in quarrels, sent ambassadors and was ready to do anything and perceived then how contrary to his interest it was to go to war with Athens; but as soon as he was master of Thrace, then he would attack cities and encroach upon us, then he would vent his drunken fury upon himself first and us next, then he was for conquering the whole country." We might be inclined to regard Demosthenes' description as too exaggerated, were it not for the fact that, when Cotys showed himself to be an impious reprobate and loaded the Athenians with injuries, they made his assassins citizens and bestowed crowns of gold upon them as benefactors.

In this connection mention should be made of Charidemus, the mercenary general of Thrace. After having received Athenian citizenship he crossed into Asia, where he soon got into trouble with the satrap Artabazus. He

29 23. 141.

30 23. 114.

then sent the Athenians a letter in which he promised to recover the Chersonese for them, if they should send him ships to enable him to escape from Asia. But, having been released unexpectedly by Artabazus, so far from fulfilling his promise or respecting his position as an Athenian citizen, he again entered the service of Cotys and laid siege to the Athenian strongholds Crithote and Elaeus. Demosthenes claims that even his letter was not sincere, but calculated to deceive the Athenians, and that the Abydenes and Sestians, enemies of Athens, were aware of his schemes; for, had they really thought that his overtures to Athens were made in sincerity, they would never have received him and permitted his passage across the Hellespont. After the death of Cotys, instead of co-operating with the Athenian general Cephisodotus, he continued to make war upon Athens for seven months. He attacked an Athenian force which had landed in the harbor of Perinthus, and afterwards, when Cephisodotus had sailed to the Chersonese to clear the promontory of Alopeconnesus of the pirates who infested it, Charidemus marched down upon the Athenians and forced Cephisodotus into a convention which was repudiated immediately at Athens. He then captured Miltocythes, who was friendly to Athens, and delivered him and his son to the Cardians, who put them to a horrible death. Having thus aroused his enemies to more aggressive action he was finally drawn into an agreement with Athenodorus. But when the latter disbanded his forces Charidemus broke his agreement and forced Chabrias to accept even more disgraceful terms than he had imposed upon Cephisodotus. It was only when Chares was sent out with a mercenary force that Charidemus was brought to terms. "Since then," continues Demosthenes, "as long as your force was in the Hellespont, he has continued to flatter and amuse you; but no sooner did he find the Hellespont freed from the presence of a force, than he set himself to destroy and dethrone the two princes and get the whole kingdom into his own power, knowing by experience that, until he expels them, it is not possible to break any part of his compact with you." After making all due allow-

ance for the exaggeration of an accuser, the facts show clearly that Charidemus held the tie of citizenship very lightly.

Such new citizens did not have the welfare of Athens at heart and their attitude toward their adoptive state was therefore determined by their own advantage. The result was as Demosthenes<sup>31</sup> says: "Those who have no love or admiration for your institutions, but regard only the advantage which they get by appearing to be honored by you, they, I expect, or rather I am quite certain, whenever they spy a hope of greater advantage elsewhere, will run after that without troubling themselves in the least about you." And in another connection he declares to the Athenians that their adopted citizens have done them more mischief than open enemies,<sup>32</sup> which shows that "these distinctions are no longer sufficient, but unless you guard the persons of each of these men, there is no thanks, it would seem, for what you have done before."<sup>33</sup> Even a foreigner, Philip of Macedon, noticed this situation and commented upon it in his letter to the Athenians, saying that "of the persons who received such gifts [as citizenship] none have the least regard for your laws and decrees."<sup>34</sup>

But the new citizens should not receive all the blame for this condition. The Athenians themselves had degenerated and the fourth century found them lacking in many of the qualities which had contributed to the glory of their ancestors. The impassioned but ineffective appeals of Demosthenes bear sad testimony to a great decline in spirit. The author of the *Fourth Philippic* expresses his view when he says: "Your interests are sold on every favorable opportunity; you partake of the idleness and ease under the charm whereof you resent not your wrongs, while other persons get the reward."<sup>35</sup> It was no uncommon thing to find that even Athenian citi-

31 23. 126.

32 *Ibid.*, 200.

33 *Ibid.*, 203.

34 *Ep. Phil.* 10.

35 [Dem.] 10. 54.

zens themselves looked upon loyalty to their own state as an elastic quality. Public men at home were in the service of Philip, and commanders in the field were guilty of disobedience. Philocrates sold himself and the interests of Athens to Macedon; Iphicrates, commander of the forces in Thrace, though he not only was an Athenian citizen by birth, but also had been honored with a bronze statue, maintenance in the prytaneum, and other distinctions, yet dared to fight in defense of Cotys against Athenian commanders at sea. In the fourth century men's vision, like that of Isocrates, broadened out beyond the limits of their own little states; their interests were no longer always identical with those of their own cities; the citizen no longer felt himself indissolubly bound to his country.<sup>36</sup> When the local patriotism of Athenians themselves was declining, a similar tendency on the part of new citizens is not to be wondered at.

The most practical reason why many of the persons who were honored with citizenship showed no loyalty toward their adoptive state was the fact that they did not come to Athens to live and consequently were not enrolled in the citizen-body. In Solon's time citizenship was granted only to persons who had severed relations with their own states through banishment or voluntary migration and had settled permanently at Athens. So long as new citizens moved to Athens and affiliated themselves with the Athenian State, their permanent allegiance was assured. The law of ἀνδραγαθία, however, sought to honor not only those who assisted in the local development of Athens, but also those who helped to promote her foreign interests, which were becoming more and more important. Thus Perdiccas the Macedonian and Menon the Pharsalian were granted citizenship because of valuable military services rendered to Athens abroad. Neither ruler is known to have moved to Athens to exercise his new privilege. In these instances, the earliest recorded grants of citizenship to individuals in historical times, the new citizens did not exercise the privileges of citizenship. In such cases citizenship was largely nominal and

36 Cf. Diog. Laert. ii. 7; Plut. *De exilio* 5; Cic. *Tusc.* v. 37.

the grant was a mark of distinction carrying with it an honorary title. Honorary citizens did not feel the bond of personal touch with Athenian life which Demosthenes deemed so essential when he said: "I consider, O Athenians, that all persons who desire to become citizens out of love for our customs and our laws, on being admitted to these would at the same time settle among us and partake of the benefits which they coveted."<sup>37</sup>

Although honorary citizens did not affiliate themselves with the state, they were nevertheless called πολῖται, not ξένοι, and were officially regarded as such. Demosthenes<sup>38</sup> argues that Charidemus should be treated as a citizen: "You must look what is the position of the man in whose favor the decree has been moved; whether he is an alien, or a resident alien, or a citizen. If we call him a resident alien, we shall not be speaking the truth; if an alien, we shall not be acting justly; for the people's grant, by which he has become a citizen, ought to stand good. We must treat him, therefore, in argument, it seems, as a citizen." There is also inscriptional evidence in support of this view. Euphron of Sicyon, who was honored with citizenship in 323 B. C., did not exercise the grant, for he remained leader of the democratic party in Sicyon. After his death his son was taken under the guardianship of the Athenian State, just as the children of Athenian citizens who fell in battle: καὶ νῦν δὲ κ[αθότι ἐπιμ.]έλειαν ἔσχκεν ὁ δῆμος τοῦ παιδίου τοῦ Εὐφρον[ος].<sup>39</sup> The two decrees passed in honor of Euphron afford the best illustration. In the grant he is called Εὐφρων Ἀδέα Σικωνίως, while in the decree passed after his death we find Εὐφρων ὁ Ἀδέα τοῦ Σικωνίου. From the fact that in the first inscription the *ethnicon* agrees with Euphron and in the second with Adeas Wilamowitz<sup>40</sup> draws the conclusion that "da er nie von seinem bürgerrechte gebrauch gemacht hatte, besass er kein demotikon, aber ein Sykionier war er für die Athener rechtlich auch nicht mehr." Although Wilamowitz may be correct in his interpretation, yet the Athenians

37 Dem. 23. 126.

38 23. 23.

39 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 448, ll. 77 f.

40 Aristot. u. Athen, II, 175.

were certainly not consistent in observing this distinction in the application of *ethnica* in inscriptions. When the Samians were made Athenians in 405 B. C. they retained citizenship in their own state and were still called Σάμιοι, as were also Eumachus and Poses who as ambassadors were included in the grant. And it seems very probable that the original nationality of Alcimachus is given in a decree which was passed in his honor over ten years after he had received citizenship: [εἶν]αι Ἀλκιμάχῳ Ἀλ[κιμάχου Ἀπολλωνι]άτῃ.<sup>41</sup> This is certainly true in the case of Spartocus IV, who is called Βοσπόριος in the same decree in which it is stated that he had previously been made a citizen.<sup>42</sup> Since the decrees for Euphron and Alcimachus were passed in 318/7 B. C. and 321/0-319/8 B. C. respectively, the official usage seems to have employed both forms of expression at the same period. In literary references either *ethnicon* is given to the new citizen, generally however his original one. Thus Thucydides<sup>43</sup> speaks of Σάδοκον τὸν γεγεννημένον Ἀθηναῖον, but Xenophon<sup>44</sup> calls Philiscus Ἀβυδηνός, Lysias<sup>45</sup> calls Apollodorus ὁ Μεγαρεύς, and Aeschines<sup>46</sup> calls Callias ὁ Χαλκιδεύς.

The fact that a new citizen might not utilize his grant immediately did not invalidate it, for if at some later time circumstances made it desirable for him to become an Athenian citizen *de facto* he could do so. In such cases a decree was passed confirming the previous grant, as [εἶν]αι Ἀλκιμάχῳ Ἀλ[κιμάχου Ἀπολλωνι]άτῃ κυρίαν τὴν πολιτείαν ἣν ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις ἐπὶ Νικο]κράτους ἄρχοντ[ος].<sup>47</sup>

41 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 391.

42 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 653. Philonides is called a Laodicean in a decree in which it is stated that he and his two sons had received citizenship (IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 1236 200-150 B. C.).

43 ii. 67. 2.

44 Hell. vii. 1. 27.

45 7. 4.

46 3. 86, 89, 94.

47 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 391. Cf. IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 226, 336b, 448. A grant to Arybas was also confirmed at a later date, but IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 226, in which reference is made to it, is not the decree of confirmation, but a subsequent one: [ἐπειδὴ --- ἡ πολιτ]εῖα ἡ δοθ[εῖ]σα[τῷ πατρὶ καὶ] τῷ πάππῳ καὶ [ὡς αἱ ἄλλαι δ]ωρεαὶ ὑπάρχ[ου]σ[ι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοι]ς καὶ εἰσι κύριαι.

A grant of citizenship included not only the individual honored, but also his descendants (*καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις*). Even if the grant was allowed to lie unused till after the death of the recipient, his descendants were admitted to citizenship by a renewal of the grant. This hereditary claim, as well as their own good services, was mentioned in the motivation, as in the case of Carphinas and Phormio: [ἐ]πειδὴ δὲ Φορ[μ]ίωνα τὸν Φορμίωνος καὶ Καρ[φ]ίν[α] πάππ[ο]ν ἐποιήσατο Ἀθηναῖον ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων κ[αὶ] τ[οῦ] [ς] ἐκείνου ἐκ[γόνους] καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ ἡ [π]οίη[σι]ς ἐγένετο ἀναγ[έ]ρ[α]πται ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἶ[ναι] Φορ[μ]ίων[ι] κ[αὶ] Καρφί[ν]α καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν κυρία[ν] τῇ[ν] [δωρεῖ]άν ἣν [ἔδωκ]εν ὁ δῆ[μ]ος Φορμίωνι τῷ πάππ[ω] [α]ύ[τ]ων;<sup>48</sup> and also in the case of Archippus: [ἐ]πειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Ἀθηνα[ί]ων φίλος ἦν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτ[ῷ] ὁ δῆμο[ς] τὴν πολιτείαν, εἶναι καὶ αὐτ[ὸν] Ἀρ[χ]ιπ[πον] καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους Ἀθηναί[ο]υς.<sup>49</sup>

Since the grant remained valid even though the new citizen postponed its exercise, it follows that, whether he intended to reside at Athens or not, no difference was made in the form of the grant. The full formula was preserved, even to the clause providing for enrolment into tribe, deme, and phratry. Besides, while in other states *proxenia* and *politeia*, the functions of which could not be exercised simultaneously, were conferred in the same decree, thus showing that these names had practically become mere titles of distinction; yet at Athens their original meaning was kept in mind so carefully that they are nowhere found granted together.<sup>50</sup> Each grant of citizenship was potential. Therefore it is impossible to determine from the form of the decree whether the new citizen exercised his grant or not. It is obvious, however, that under ordinary circumstances such persons as foreign rulers, public officials, and representatives of foreign governments did not do so.

48 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 237, ll. 15-21; cf. 212.

49 *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 336a, ll. 15-19.

50 Szanto, *Griech. Bürgerr.*, 22.

## CHAPTER V

### POETS OF FOREIGN NATIONALITY AT ATTIC FESTIVALS

In assigning a reason why dramatic poets were admitted to citizenship it was assumed that they were permitted to produce plays at Athens. This is the view of Bergk:<sup>1</sup> "Ebenso wenig ist die Ansicht Neuerer gerechtfertigt, Ausländer hätten keinen Chor erhalten: wie man lyrische Dichter ohne alle Ausnahme zuliess, so auch dramatische." Wilhelm<sup>2</sup> concurs in this view. Meineke<sup>3</sup> presents the opposite opinion: "Peregrinis autem, antequam civitati adscripti essent, in publicis Bacchicorum sacrorum solemnibus fabulas in certamen committendi potestatem factam esse, nullis puto argumentis doceri potest." Van Leeuwen's<sup>4</sup> view is a compromise: "Dixeris igitur liberum etiam poetis peregrinis ad certamina publica fuisse aditum, ea tamen lege ut docerent quidem suas fabulas vel carmina, sed non ipsi in se reciperent histrionis vel cantoris officium. Primitus igitur, cum primas in suis dramatis partes ipsi poetae solebant agere, a certaminibus publicis peregrinos fuisse exclusos, dein vero, cum actoribus rem permittere solerent, per leges nihil obstitisse quominus cum poetis civibus certarent." This view is based upon the assumption that "histriones cives fuisse,"<sup>5</sup> which O'Connor<sup>6</sup> has shown to be incorrect.

This question may be settled most easily by a review of the individual cases. It should be stated first that of the other participants in dramatic contests foreigners were admitted as choregi and actors, but were excluded from the chorus.<sup>7</sup> Following is a list of dramatic poets,

1 *Griech. Litt. Gesch.*, III, 51, n. 169.

2 *Urk. Dram.*, 57.

3 *Hist. Crit.*, 308.

4 *Proleg. ad Aristoph.*, 42 f.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*, p. 72.

7 *Plut. Phoc.* 30. Cf. *Dem.* 21. 56; *Andoc.* 4. 20; *Aristoph. Ran.* 729.

chronologically arranged, who produced plays at Athens, but were of foreign birth and, so far as our information goes, never received Athenian citizenship.

Pratinas gained one victory and contended against Aeschylus and Choerilus. Yet he was a citizen of Phlius<sup>8</sup> and died such, for his son is called Φλιάσιος by Athenaeus.<sup>9</sup>

Aristias, besides being a Phliasian, was buried at Phlius.<sup>10</sup> He took second prize in the contest with Aeschylus and Polyphrasmon in 467 B. C.,<sup>11</sup> and competed with Sophocles.<sup>12</sup> The name Aristias is also restored in the list of victors at the City Dionysia.<sup>13</sup>

Aristarchus, a contemporary of Euripides, was a native of Tegea.<sup>14</sup> His tragedies twice took first prize.<sup>15</sup>

Ion, the son of Orthomenes, was a Chian.<sup>16</sup> An Attic inscription in the Ionic dialect, which records a dedication to Artemis, bears the name Ion and is to be referred to a foreigner.<sup>17</sup> Ion came to Athens when still a young man<sup>18</sup> and began to exhibit about the middle of the fifth century. When Sophocles was sailing to Lesbos as general in 440 B. C. he stopped off at Chios, where he was entertained by Hermesilaus. Ion was invited to meet Sophocles. So it appears that after he had contended at Athens he kept up his relations with his native country and perhaps continued to reside there for part of the year. Strabo<sup>19</sup> mentions him among the famous men of Chios. At a later date, 428 B. C., he won third place in competition

8 Φλιάσιος (Suid. s. v. Πρατίνας; Athen. xiv. 617b).

9 xv. 686a.

10 Paus. ii. 3. 5.

11 Argum. Aeschylus *Septem*.

12 *Vita Soph.* ed. Westermann, 131.

13 *IG*, II, 977a; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 100, 103.

14 Schol. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1320; Suid. s. v. Ἀρίσταρχος.

15 Suid. *loc. cit.*

16 Athen. x. 449d; xi. 496c; Plut. *Thes.* 20; Paus. v. 14. 9; Schol. Aristoph. *Pax* 830; Suid. s. v. Ἴων.

17 Ditt., *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 13.

18 Plut. *Cim.* 9.

19 xiv. 1. 35.

with Euripides and Iophon,<sup>20</sup> and on one occasion captured the first prize.<sup>21</sup>

Achaeus, one of the five great tragic poets in the early canon, was a native of Eretria.<sup>22</sup> As a writer of Satyric dramas he was considered inferior only to Aeschylus. He matched his plays against those of Euripides and Sophocles, but won only one victory.

Hegemon, a poet who flourished during the Peloponnesian war, was a Thasian.<sup>23</sup> Though he went to Athens he maintained his relations with Thasos, which he called his home.<sup>24</sup> Chameleon of Pontus relates that after Hegemon had returned from Athens to Thasos he was summoned back to the former place to answer a legal charge. That this incident occurred after his literary career had begun is evidenced by the fact that he took along to court all the workmen of the theater, with whom he had become acquainted when he had been exhibiting previously at Athens.<sup>25</sup>

Anaxandrides the comic poet was a foreigner, a Rhodian from Camirus according to Chameleon of Heraclea,<sup>26</sup> a Colophonian according to others.<sup>27</sup> He exhibited his plays at Athens and won ten victories in all,<sup>28</sup> seven at the Dionysia and three at the Lenaea.<sup>29</sup> The *Marmor Parium* records a victory of Anaxandrides in 377/6 B. C.<sup>30</sup>

Theodectas, who lived about 390-350 B. C.,<sup>31</sup> was a native of Phaselis in Pamphylia.<sup>32</sup> He passed the greater

20 Argum. Eur. *Hippol.*

21 Schol. Aristoph. *Pax* 835; Suid. s. v. Ἀθήναιος.

22 Athen. ix. 376a; iv. 173c; Suid. s. v. Ἀχαιοῖς.

23 Aristot. *Poet.* 1448a 12; Athen. ix. 406e; xv. 698c; Suid. s. v. Ἡγήμων.

24 Athen. xv. 698c.

25 Athen. ix. 407b.

26 Athen. ix. 374a. Cf. Suid. s. v. Ἀναξανδρίδης.

27 Suid. *loc. cit.*

28 Suid. *loc. cit.*; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 126.

29 *IG*, II, 977.

30 *IG*, XIV, 1098; II, 971c; *AJPh*, XXVIII (1907), 182.

31 Capps. *AJPh*, XXI (1900), 40 f.

32 Suid. s. v. Θεοδέκτης; Steph. Byz. s. v. Φασηλίς; Plut. *Alex.* 17; Athen. x. 451e, 454d.

part of his life at Athens and was buried there.<sup>33</sup> Stephanus of Byzantium<sup>34</sup> has preserved the epitaph of four verses which was carved on his tomb. Theodectas there bears the *ethnicon* Φασηλίτης.<sup>35</sup> His son also was a citizen of Phaselis.<sup>36</sup> Theodectas brought out plays at Athens. In thirteen contests he carried off the highest honor eight times,<sup>37</sup> and the didascalie list gives him seven victories at the City Dionysia.<sup>38</sup>

Apollodorus, a tragic poet of the second half of the fourth century, was a native of Tarsus.<sup>39</sup> He won five victories at the Lenaea.<sup>40</sup>

Achaeus, a tragic poet, was a native of Syracuse.<sup>41</sup> He won a Lenaeian victory about 335 or 330 B. C.<sup>42</sup>

Phanostratus, the son of Heraclides, came from Hali-carnassus.<sup>43</sup> He won the tragic prize at the Lenaea in 307/6 B. C.<sup>44</sup> In the same inscription which records this victory Phanostratus is called 'Αλικαρνασσεύς.<sup>45</sup>

Posidippus came from Cassandreia in Macedonia.<sup>46</sup> He began to exhibit in the third year after the death of Menander.<sup>47</sup> The list of comic poets who won at the City Dionysia credits him with four victories.<sup>48</sup>

Diphilus was a native of Sinope and is so called on his tombstone.<sup>49</sup> He brought out plays at Athens and won three victories.<sup>50</sup>

33 Paus. i. 37. 4.

34 *Loc. cit.*

35 Cf. [Plut.] *Vitae X Orat.* 837c.

36 Suid. *loc. cit.*

37 Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*

38 *IG*, II, 977b.

39 Suid. s. v. 'Απολλόδωρος.

40 Reisch, *WSt*, XXXIV (1912), 339.

41 Suid. s. v. 'Αγαίος.

42 Reisch. *op. cit.*, 340.

43 *BCH*, II (1878), 394.

44 Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 210.

45 *IG*, II, 1289.

46 Suid. s. v. Ποσειδίππος; Eudocia *Viol.* 359; Steph. Byz. s. v.

Κασάνδρεια.

47 Suid. *loc. cit.*

48 *IG*, II, 977h; Wilhelm. *op. cit.*, 177 f.

49 See p. 77.

50 *IG*, II, 977g.

Diodorus, the brother of Diphilus, bears the Athenian deme-name Σημαχίδης upon his tombstone.<sup>51</sup> He contended at the Lenaea in 288 B. C.<sup>52</sup> However, in two Delian inscriptions of the years 286 and 282 B. C. he is called Σιωπεύς.<sup>53</sup> We should conclude from these facts that he did not receive Athenian citizenship until after his appearance at Delos in 282 B. C. and that he was, therefore, a foreigner when he exhibited at Athens in 288 B. C. But considerations of a political character weaken this conclusion. In 314 B. C. the Delians freed themselves from the control of Athens. They conducted their own affairs, including the administration of the temple of Apollo. All contracts made by the Amphictyons with Athenian citizens were canceled and Athenian citizens were probably expelled altogether.<sup>54</sup> Under these circumstances Diodorus would not have advertised his Athenian citizenship, even if he had already received it.

Phoenicides was a Megarian.<sup>55</sup> He exhibited at Athens and ridiculed the league of Antigonos and Pyrrhus.<sup>56</sup> In 287/6 B. C. he won fourth prize at the Lenaea with his *Poet*,<sup>57</sup> and two victories are assigned to him at the City Dionysia.<sup>58</sup>

Lynceus came from Samos.<sup>59</sup> We can be certain of his presence at Athens for he describes banquets which he attended there, one given by a certain Lamia to King Demetrius, another by Antigonos when he celebrated the Aphrodisian festival at Athens,<sup>60</sup> and a third by Ptolemy.<sup>61</sup> He also ridicules Attic banquets in his *Cen-*

51 See p. 72.

52 *IG*, II, 972.

53 *BCH*, VII (1883), 105.

54 Ferguson, *Hellen. Ath.*, 50 f.

55 Hesych. s. v. δύνασαι σιωπᾶν.

56 *Ibid.*

57 *IG*, II, 972.

58 *IG*, II, 977h; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, 52, 118.

59 Athen. vi. 248d; x. 434d.

60 Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 248, n. 94.

61 Athen. iv. 128a.

*taur.*<sup>62</sup> Eudocia<sup>63</sup> records the fact that he was victorious in the dramatic contests.

Sosiphanes came from Syracuse to Athens, where he was victorious seven times.<sup>64</sup>

Euphantes was an Olynthian and a teacher of King Antigonos. His tragedies were well received at the Athenian contests.<sup>65</sup>

To sum up the evidence so far submitted. It is possible, but not probable, that all the above-mentioned foreign poets received Athenian citizenship. And even if they did receive it for service in connection with one of the festivals, the grant would not have been made before they brought out their plays, because that would have contradicted the principle that the grant should be based upon past service. Again, Diphilus and Theodectas appear to have spent the greater part of their lives at Athens and each bears a foreign *ethnicon* upon his tombstone. And yet each, "if he resided permanently in Athens and had received the citizenship, would call himself by preference an Athenian."<sup>66</sup> Lastly, granting that citizenship was a necessary qualification for the production of plays at Athens, it is scarcely conceivable that Phanostratus would be called 'Αλικαρνασσεύς in a document recording a victory which was made possible only by the fact that he was then 'Αθηναῖος.

Although these considerations furnish strong evidence, it is not sufficient unless it can be supported by a conclusive instance. Such we find in Dionysius, king of Sicily. Dionysius was made an Athenian in 368 B. C.<sup>67</sup> In 367 B. C. he won the first prize in tragedy.<sup>68</sup> This victory occurred after he had received Athenian citizenship. But

62 Athen. iv. 131f.

63 Viol. 253.

64 Suid. s. v. Σωσιφάνης.

65 Diog. Laert. ii. 10; Tarn, *op. cit.*, 25.

66 Capps, *op. cit.*, 47, n. 2.

67 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 103. See p. 42.

68 Diodor. xv. 74. 1; Tzet. *Chil.* 178-81.

Dionysius brought out many plays at Athens, once taking second place, at another time third:

οὗτος ὁ Διονύσιος πολλὰς μὲν τραγωδίας  
ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἀναγνοῦς, δεύτερος, τρίτος ἦλθεν  
εἰς λῦτρα δὲ τοῦ Ἑκτορος καλούμενόν τι δράμα  
ἀναγνωσθὲν ἐνίκησε πάντας ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις.<sup>69</sup>

Now since Dionysius died in 367 B. C., the year in which he was victorious, all his other plays must have been brought out before that date. Taking into consideration only the two appearances on which he won second and third prizes we get 369 B. C. as the latest possible date for Dionysius' first appearance. Since the decree which grants Dionysius citizenship is dated in the tenth prytany of the year 369/8 B. C., i. e., after the Dionysia, we have a record of at least two contests in which he participated prior to his enfranchisement. If any qualification of citizenship had existed, the Athenians certainly would have met it by making Dionysius an Athenian when he first expressed a desire to exhibit plays at Athens, for they honored him at various times and had good reasons for doing so.<sup>70</sup> This conclusive case, together with the preceding evidence, proves that during the fifth, fourth, and third centuries B. C. foreign poets were permitted to compete at the Dionysiac festivals in Athens.

69 Tzet. *loc. cit.*

70 IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 18.

## CONCLUSION

It has been shown that the law of ἀνδραγαθία was already in operation in 519 B. C.; that it was the basis for grants of citizenship from that date to 100 B. C. at least; and that the Solonian law concerning exiles and permanent settlers was not applied in the period during which the law of ἀνδραγαθία was in force. Three possible reasons have been suggested for which literary men could receive citizenship under the law of ἀνδραγαθία: for public service in the ordinary sense; for public service in connection with state festivals; or, by a loose interpretation of the law, for eminence in their profession. It has been shown that the purpose of the state in granting citizenship was self-interested, i. e., to secure the services of foreigners to the state. The spirit of the law was lost and laxity in the application of the rule followed. The consequent increased frequency of grants and corrupt practices depreciated the value of the grant. Grants of citizenship failed as a means of securing the continued loyalty of new citizens, and this was largely due to the fact that in many cases citizenship was only nominal. Lastly, it has been proved conclusively that poets of foreign nationality were permitted to compete at the Dionysiac festivals in Athens.

## APPENDIX

### LIST OF NATURALIZED ATHENIANS

After the name of each naturalized Athenian in the following list will be found, wherever possible, his father's name, *ethnicon*, deme-name, the date of the grant, references bearing on the fact of the grant, and page references to discussion of the case in the text. Besides giving the names of foreigners who certainly received citizenship, this list includes also the names of foreigners whose Athenian citizenship has been assumed incorrectly (marked \*), or whose naturalization, while not certain, is either possible or probable (marked †).

- \* 'Α———. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- 'Αγαυὸς 'Αβυδηνός. *Ca.* 367 B. C. *Dem.* 23. 202. *Kirchner*, No. 108.
- \* 'Αθηνογίτων. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- Αἴσχωρον Προξένου. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 652 (288/7 B. C.). *Tarn*, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 418 ff. *Kirchner*, No. 396. See p. 58.
- Αἴσχωρον Προξένου. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 845 (229-200 B. C.). Probably a grandson of the preceding.
- Αἶχμων Εὐέλθοντος Παταρέυς. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 988 (150-129 B. C.). *Wilhelm*, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 305.
- 'Αλέξανδρος Φιλίππου Μακεδών. *Ca.* 338 B. C. *Schol.* *Aristid. Panath.* 178, 16. See p. 51.
- 'Αλέξανδρος Μυλλέου or Μυλλένα Μακεδών ἐγ Βεροίας. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 710 (288-280 or 267-262 B. C.). *Johnson*, *CPh*, IX (1914), 433. *Wilhelm*, *WSt*, XXXIV (1912), 427. *Kirchner*, No. 526.
- 'Αλέξανδρος Καλλιστράτου Θετταλός. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 850 (*ca.* 200 B. C.). *Wilhelm*, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 298. *Kirchner*, No. 525. See p. 61.

- † Ἄλεξις Θούριος (?) Κηφισιεύς (?). 376-270 B. C. Suid.  
s. v. Ἄλεξις. Kirchner, No. 549. See p. 75.
- Ἀλκαῖος Ἡραίου Αἴνιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 495 (303/2 B. C.).  
Kirchner, No. 577. See p. 56.
- Ἀλκέτας Θαρύππου Μολόσσιος. *Ca.* 375 B. C. Diodor. xv.  
36. 5. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 226 (343/2 B. C.).
- Ἀλκίμαχος Ἀγαθόκλου Μακεδών. *Ca.* 337/6 B. C. *IG*,  
II<sup>2</sup>, 239 (337/6 B. C.). Harpoc. s. v. Ἀλκίμαχος.  
Kirchner, No. 626.
- Ἀλκίμαχος Ἀλκιμάχου Ἀπολλωνιάτης. 333/2 B. C. *IG*,  
II<sup>2</sup>, 391 (321/0-319/8 B. C.). See pp. 92, 100.
- Ἀλκμαίων Σίλλου Μεσσήνιος. Paus. ii. 18. 7.
- Ἀμύντωρ Δημητρίου. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 405 (335/4-330/29 B. C.).  
Kirchner, No. 750.
- † Ἄμφις Δι . . . . . Ἄνδριος. After 332/1 B. C. Suid.  
s. v. Ἄμφις. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 347 (332/1 B. C.). Kirchner,  
No. 785. See pp. 77, 84.
- Ἀναξικράτης Βυζάντιος. 405 B. C. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 1;  
i. 3. 18.
- Ἀναξίλαος Βυζάντιος. 405 B. C. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 1; i.  
3. 18 f.
- Ἀνάφλυστος Τροιζήνης Τροιζήνιος Ἀναφλύστιος. Paus. ii.  
30. 9. See p. 26.
- Ἀνάχαρσις Γνούρου Σκύθης. *Ca.* 583 B. C. Luc. *Scyth.*  
5, 8. Diog. Laert. i. 101.
- Ἀντήνωρ Ξενάρου Μιλήσιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 472+169 (306/5  
B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 285 ff.  
Euseb. i. 206. Kirchner, No. 970.
- Ἀντίγονος Φιλίππου Μακεδών. *Ca.* 307/6 B. C. Keil, *HZ*,  
LII (1902), 485. Diodor. xx. 46. Kirchner, No.  
1012a.
- Ἀντίμαχος Χίος. Before *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 40 (*ca.* 383/2 B. C.).  
*IG*, II, 791. Wilhelm, *WSt*, XXXIV (1912), 416 ff.

- Ἀντίοχος IV Ἀντιόχου III Σύριος. *Ca.* 176 B. C. Ferguson, *Hellen. Ath.*, 302. Kirchner, No. 1160.
- Ἀντίπατρος Ἰόλλα Μακεδών. *Ca.* 337/6 B. C. Harpoc. s. v. Ἀντίπατρος. Justin ix. 4. 5. Kirchner, No. 1180.
- Ἀντιφάνης Στεφάνου Κιανός, Σμυρναῖος, Ῥόδιος, or ἀπὸ Θεσσαλίας ἐκ Λαρίσσης. 388/5-314/0 B. C. Suid. s. v. Ἀντιφάνης. Anonym. *De com.*, Kaibel, 9. Capps, *AJPh*, XXI (1900), 58. Kirchner, No. 1219. See p. 70.
- Ἀντώνιος, M. Roman triumvir. *Ca.* 39 B. C. Plut. *Ant.* 57, 33. App. v. 76.
- Ἀπολλόδωρος Μεγαρεύς. *IG*, I, 59 (410/09 B. C.). *Lysias* 13. 71; 7. 4. See p. 34.
- Ἀπολλόδωρος Πασίωνος Ἀχχρνεύς. 390-370 B. C. [Dem.] 59. 2; 46. 15. Dem. 36. 47; 45. 46, 78, 79. [Dem.] 53. 18. *IG*, II, 1238. Kirchner, No. 1411. See p. 41.
- Ἀπολλόδωρος Καρύστιος. Generation after Menander. Suid. s. vv. Ἀπολλόδωρος, σπουδάζω, ἐγκωμβώσασθαι. Capps, *AJPh*, XXI (1900), 45 ff. Kirchner, No. 1383. See p. 71.
- Ἀπελλικῶν Τήϊος ἐξ Οἴου. Before 90 B. C. Strabo xiii. 54. Posidon. *apud* Athen. v. 214d. *IG*, II, 1049. Kirchner, No. 1343.
- Ἀπολλωνίδης Ὀλύνθιος. *Ca.* 349 B. C. Dem. 9. 56, 66. [Dem.] 59. 91. Kirchner, No. 1504. Deprived of citizenship by court. See p. 65.
- Ἀπολλωνίδης Χάροπος Πειραιεύς. Before *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 492 (303/2 B. C.).
- Ἀπολλώνιος Λεύκονος Βοσπόριος. Before 355/4 B. C. Dem. 20. 30.
- Ἀριαράθης V Ἀριαράθου IV Καππάδοκος Συναλήττιος. *Ca.* 178 B. C. *IG*, II, 1406. Ferguson, *Klio*, VIII (1908), 353. Kirchner, No. 1608.

- 'Αριάρθης 'Αριάρθου V Καππάδοκος Συπαλήττιος (?). *Ca.* 132/1 B. C. Kirchner, *ZN*, XXI (1898), 84 ff., 92 f. Ferguson *CPh*, II (1907), 401-5. Dürrbach, *BCH*, XXIX (1905), 227. Kirchner, No. 1608.
- 'Αριάρθης 'Αττάλου II (?) Καππάδοκος Συπαλήττιος (?). *Ca.* 128/7 B. C. Sundwall, *Klio*, VII (1907), 454 f. Ferguson, *Klio*, VIII (1908), 353-55. Sundwall s.v. 'Αριάρθης.
- 'Αριάρθης 'Αριοβαρζάνου I Καππάδοκος Συπαλήττιος. *Ca.* 80 B. C. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039. Ferguson, *Klio*, VIII (1908), 353.
- 'Αριοβαρζάνης. Satrap of Phrygia. *Ca.* 368/7 B. C. Dem. 23. 141, 202. Kirchner, No. 1621.
- 'Αριοβαρζάνης II 'Αριοβαρζάνου I Καππάδοκος Συπαλήττιος. *Ca.* 80 B. C. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039. Ferguson, *Klio*, VIII (1908), 353. Kirchner, No. 1621a.
- 'Αρίστακος 'Ηρακλείδου Ταραντίνος (?). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 979 (168-129 B. C.). Wilhelm, *WSt*, XXXIV (1912), 424 ff. See p. 62, n. 208.
- † 'Αριστόδημος Μεταποντίνος. Before 346 B. C. *Hypothesis* II. 2 to Dem. 19. Aeschines 2. 15 ff. Schaefer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, I, 246. See pp. 76, 81.
- 'Αριστόλας. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 643 (299/8 B. C.).
- 'Αριστόνικος 'Αριστομήδου Καρύστιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 385 (319/8 B. C.). Athen. i. 19a. Suid. s. vv. ὄρχησις, χορείαν. Kirchner, No. 2033a. See pp. 55, 63, n. 211, 85.
- 'Αρίστων Βυζάντιος. 405 B. C. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 1; i. 3. 18.
- "Αρπαλος Μαχάτα Μακεδών. Before 325/4 B. C. Athen. xiii. 586d, 596b. Kirchner, No. 2251. See p. 52.
- 'Αρτεμίδωρος 'Απολλοδώρου. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 662, 663 (288/7 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 430. See p. 58.
- 'Αρύββας 'Αλκέτου Μολόσσιος. Before *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 226 (343/2 B. C.). See p. 100, n. 47.

- Ἀρχέδημος Θηραῖος Χολλείδης. 426 B. C. *IG*, I, 423-427. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Die archaische Kultur der Insel Thera*, 33. Kirchner, No. 2328.
- Ἀρχίππος (?) Θάσιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 25 (390/89-387/6 B. C.). See Kirchner, No. 2564. See p. 41.
- Ἀρχι——— Θάσιος (?). Before *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 336*a* (334/3 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 269. See Kirchner, No. 2564. Probably either identical with or the son of the preceding.
- Ἀρχίππος Ἀρχι——— Θάσιος (?). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 336*a* (334/3 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 269. See Kirchner, No. 2564. Renewal of grant to his father.
- Ἀσανδρος Ἀγάθωνος Μακεδών. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 450 (314/3 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 262.
- Ἀστυκράτης Δελφός. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 109 (363/2 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 2654. See p. 43.
- Ἀτταλος I Ἀττάλου Περγαμηνός. *Ca.* 200 B. C. Polyb. xvi. 25. Livy xxxi. 47.
- Ἀτταλος II Ἀττάλου I Περγαμηνός Συπαλήττιος. *Ca.* 178 B. C. *IG*, II, 1406. Ferguson, *Klio*, VIII (1908), 353. Kirchner, No. 2692.
- Atticus, T. Pomponius. 85-65 B. C. Cor. Nep. *Att.* 3. Cic. *Ad Att.* i. 16. 4. He refused the grant.
- Ἀττινᾶς Ἡρακλείδου Κυμαῖος (?) Φλυεύς. *IG*, II, 1008, l. 126 (118/7 B. C.); II, 863. *IGS*, I, 417 (100-75 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 2693. Ancestor received citizenship.
- Αἰδωλέων Πατράου Παιών. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 654 (287/6 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 277. Kirchner, No. 2696. See p. 59.
- \* Βενδιφάνης. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall *s. v.* Βενδιφάνης. See pp. 18 ff.

- Βιάνωρ Θραξ. 359-356 B. C. Dem. 23. 12. Kirchner, No. 2850.
- Βίθυς Κλέωνος Λυσιμαχεύς. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 808 (*ca.* 303/2 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 438. Kirchner, No. 2851.
- Βρύαξις. *Ca.* 350 B. C. *IG*, II, 5. 1305*b*. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* iv. 48. Robert, *Pauly-Wiss.*, III, 1, 916, *s. v.* Bryaxis. Kirchner, No. 2930.
- \* Γλαυκίας. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall *s. v.* Γλαυκίας. See pp. 18 ff.
- \* Δημήτριος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.) Sundwall *s. v.* Δημήτριος. See pp. 18 ff.
- Δημήτριος Ἀντιγόνου Μακεδών. *Ca.* 307/6 B. C. Keil, *HZ*, LII (1902), 485. Diodor. xx. 46. Plut. *Demetr.* 10. Kirchner, No. 3461*a*.
- Δίης Διέους Τύριος. *Ca.* 110 B. C. *BCH*, XV (1891), 255 ff.; XXIX (1905), 229 ff. Ferguson, *Klio*, VII (1907), 223. Kirchner, No. 3768. Sundwall *s. v.* Δίης.
- Δικαίαιρχος Φιλωνίδου Λαοδικεύς. Before *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1236 (200-150 B. C.).
- Διογένης Μακεδών. Before 235 B. C. *IG*, II, 1386. Ferguson, *Hellen. Ath.*, 201.
- Διόδωρος Δίωνος Σινωπεύς Σημαχίδης. Possibly after 282 B. C. *IG*, II, 3343. Auctor *Lex. Hermann.*, 324. Kirchner, No. 3959. See pp. 72, 106.
- † Διοκλῆς Φλιάσιος. 500-400 B. C. Suid. *s. v.* Διοκλῆς. Kirchner, No. 3985. See p. 75.
- Διομήδης Ἀθηνοδώρου Περγαμηνός. Before 106 B. C. *MAI*, XIX (1894), 97. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. (1883), 27. O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*, p. 72 and p. 92, No. 145. Kirchner, No. 4071. See p. 73.

- \* Διονύσιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- Διονύσιος I Ἑρμοκρίτους Συρακόσιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 103 (369/8 B. C.). See *Kirchner*, No. 4269. See pp. 42, 70, 107.
- Διονύσιος II Διονυσίου I Συρακόσιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 103 (369/8 B. C.). See *Kirchner*, No. 4269. See p. 42.
- \* Δίφιλος Δίωνος Σινωπέως. *Ca.* 300 B. C. *IG*, II, 3343. *Auctor Lex. Hermann.*, 324. See pp. 77, 79, 105.
- \* Ἐγερεσις. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). *Sundwall s. v.* Ἐγερεσις. See pp. 18 ff.
- \* Ἐμπορίων. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). *Sundwall s. v.* Ἐμπορίων. See pp. 18 ff.
- Ἐνδοιος. 525-500 B. C. *IG*, I, 477. *Paus.* i. 26. 4. *Kirchner*, No. 4706.
- \* Ἐπαμείνων. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). *Sundwall s. v.* Ἐπαμείνων. See pp. 18 ff.
- † Ἐπαμείνων Κεῖος (Καρθαίεύς). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 978 (*ca.* 130 B. C.). *Wilhelm, MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 307 ff.
- Ἐπιγένης. *Ca.* 325 B. C. *Din.* 1. 43. *Kirchner*, No. 4782.
- Ἐπόνφης Μήλιος Κυθήρριος. 416-404 B. C. *IG*, XII, 1187. *Thuc.* v. 116. *Kirchner*, No. 5019.
- Ἑρμόκριτος Διονυσίου I Συρακόσιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 103 (369/8 B. C.). See *Kirchner*, No. 4269. See p. 42.
- Εὐαγόρας Σαλαμίνιος. 410-405 B. C. *IG*, I, 64+Suppl. 116*w.* *Wilhelm, BPhW*, XXII (1902), 1100; *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 290. *Isoc.* 9. 54. *Ep. Phil.* 10. *Kirchner*, No. 5235*b.* See pp. 35, 93.
- \* Εὐαθλος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- Εὐδέρκης. *Ca.* 357/6 B. C. *Dem.* 23. 203. See p. 46.
- Εὐήνωρ Εὐηπίου Ἀργεῖος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 374 (318-307 B. C.). *Johnson, CPh*, IX (1914), 425. See p. 55.

Εὐκλῆς Φιλοκλέους (?) Τρινεμειεύς. After 403 B. C. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 145 (1st part *ca.* 403/2 B. C., 2nd part 368-353 B. C.). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 678 (276/5 B. C.). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 972 (*ca.* 140 B. C.). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 848 (*ca.* 209/8 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 5732. See p. 39.

Εὐκλῆς. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 387 (319/8 B. C.).

\* Εὐκολίων. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall *s. v.* Εὐκολίων. See pp. 18 ff.

Εὐμαχος Σάμιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1 (405/4 B. C.). See p. 37.

Εὐπολις. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 486 (304/3 B. C.).

Εὐρυσάκης Αἶαντος Σαλαμίνιος Μελιτεύς. *Plut. Sol.* 10. *Paus. i.* 35. 2. See p. 26.

\* Εὐφορίων. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall *s. v.* Εὐφορίων. See pp. 18 ff.

Εὐφρων Ἀδέα Σικυώνιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 448 (323/2 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 6126. See pp. 54, 63, 99.

\* Ἑγησίας. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall *s. v.* Ἑγησίας. See pp. 18 ff.

\* Ζωίλος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall *s. v.* Ζωίλος. See pp. 18 ff.

† Ἡδύλος Σάμιος. 300-200 B. C. *Athen. vii.* 297a. Kirchner, No. 6388. See p. 77.

Ἡλιόδωρος Διέους Τύριος. *Ca.* 110 B. C. *BCH*, XV (1891), 255 ff.; XXIX (1905), 229 ff. Ferguson, *Klio*, VII (1907), 223. Sundwall *s. v.* Ἡλιόδωρος. Kirchner, No. 6407.

Ἡρακλείδης Κλαζομένιος. 403-391 B. C. Köhler, *Hermes*, XXVII (1892), 76. Wilamowitz, *Aristot. u. Athen*, I, 188, n. 4. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8 (*ca.* 403-395 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 6489. See p. 38.

Ἡρακλείδης Αἴνιος. *Ca.* 360 B. C. *Dem.* 23. 119. Kirchner, No. 6488. See pp. 44, 64, 91.

Ἡρακλείδης (?). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 394 (321/0-319/8 B. C.).

- Ἡράκλειτος Δίωνος Ἀργεῖος. 272-269 B. C. *SGDI*, 2563, l. 39 (272 B. C.); 2566, l. 51 (269 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 6492. See p. 72.
- Ἡρόδωρος Φ.....κηνός. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 646 (295/4 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 6532. See p. 57.
- Θαρρύπας Μολόσσιος. Granted citizenship during the Peloponnesian war. Justin xvii. 3. 9-13. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 226 (343/2 B. C.).
- Θρασύβουλος Καλυδώνιος. *IG*, I, 59 (410/09 B. C.). Lysias 13. 71. Kirchner, No. 7311. See pp. 16 ff., 34.
- Θράσυλλος Ἡραγόρου Σάμιος Κηφισιεύς. *IG*, II, 5. 2175b (uncertain date). Kirchner, No. 7344.
- Ἰκέσιος Μητροδώρου Ἐφέσιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 922 (200-168 B. C.). Wilhelm, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* (1912), 248; *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 304. See p. 62, n. 208.
- Ἰππαρχος Θάσιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 25 (390/89-387/6 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 7602. See p. 41.
- Ἰπποκράτης Ἡραγόρου Σάμιος Κηφισιεύς. *IG*, II, 5. 2175b (uncertain date). Kirchner, No. 7636.
- \* Καλλίας. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall *s. v.* Καλλίας. See pp. 18 ff.
- Καλλίας Μνησάρχου Χαλκιδεύς. 343/2-340 B. C. Aeschines 3. 85. Din. 1. 44. Hyper. 5. 20. Schaefer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, II, 423. Kirchner, No. 7898. See pp. 49, 94.
- Καπίτων, Κόιντος Πομπήϊος, Κοίντου Περγαμηνός. *IG*, III, 769. See p. 73.
- Καρνεάδης Ἐπικώμου ἢ Φιλοκώμου Κυρηναῖος Ἀζηνιεύς. 180-175 B. C. Diog. Laert. iv. 62. *IG*, II, 1406 (178-175 B. C.). Ferguson, *Klio*, VIII (1908), 352. Kirchner, No. 8257. See pp. 73, 86.
- Καρυστίων. 440 B. C. Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 283. Kirchner, No. 8259a. See p. 31.

- Καρφίνας Ἀκαρνάν. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 237 (338/7 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 8261. See pp. 51, 64, 101.
- Κέρροψ Αἰγύπτιος. *Suid.* s. v. Κέρροψ.
- Κερσοβλέπτης Κότου Θράξ. *Ca.* 357/6 B. C. *Ep. Phil.* 8. See p. 46.
- \* Κηφισόδωρος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall s. v. Κηφισόδωρος. See pp. 18 ff.
- Κλέαρχος Ποντικός (Ἡρακλεώτης). *Ca.* 363/2 B. C. *Suid.* s. v. Κλέαρχος. *Dem.* 20. 84. Kirchner, No. 8485.
- Κλέαρχος T——— E———. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 889 (*ca.* 190 B. C.). See p. 62, n. 208.
- Κόνων. *Ca.* 325 B. C. *Din.* 1. 43. Kirchner, No. 8700.
- Κόρινθος (?). *IG*, I, Suppl. 46a (500-400 B. C.). Wilhelm, *Mélanges Nicole*, 597 ff. See p. 34.
- Κότυς Θράξ. 382-365 B. C. *Dem.* 23. 118. See pp. 42, 95.
- Κύδων Βυζάντιος. 405 B. C. *Xen. Hell.* ii. 2. 1; i. 3. 18.
- Λεο———. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 924 (200-168 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 304.
- \* Λεπτίνης. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall s. v. Λεπτίνης. See pp. 18 ff.
- Λεύκων Σατύρου Βοσπόριος. Before 355/4 B. C. *Dem.* 20. 30. See p. 45.
- \* Λήναιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall s. v. Λήναιος. See pp. 18 ff.
- \* ΛΙΧΙΙ—. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- Λυκοῦργος Βυζάντιος. 405 B. C. *Xen. Hell.* ii. 2. 1; i. 3. 18.
- Λυκόφρων Θετταλός. *Ca.* 352 B. C. *Aristot. Rhet.* 1410a 18. Probably deprived of citizenship by court.
- Μάγας. 186-146 B. C. Kirchner, No. 9650.
- Μέλανθος Ἀνδροπόμπου Μεσσήνιος. *Paus.* ii. 18. 7. *Strabo* ix. 1. 7. See p. 26.

- † Μέλητος Θράξ Πιτθεύς. Schol. Plato *Apol.* 18b. Diog. Laert ii. 40. Plato *Euthyphr.* 2b. Kirchner, No. 9829. See p. 75.
- Μενεσθεύς Ἀπολλωνίου Μιλήσιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 982 (150-129 B. C.). Wilhelm, *WSt*, XXXIV (1912), 423.
- Μένων Φαρσάλιος. *Ca.* 476 B. C. Dem. 23. 199. See p. 30.
- † Μεταγένης. Contemporary with Aristophanes. Suid. s. v. Μεταγένης. Kirchner, No. 10087. See p. 74.
- \* ΜΑ—. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- Νεαῖος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 553 (ca. 307 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 10615. See p. 55.
- † Νεοπτόλεμος Σκύριος. *Ca.* 350 B. C. Schol. Dem. 5. 6. Schaefer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit*<sup>2</sup>, I, 246. O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*, p. 72, and p. 119, No. 359. Kirchner, No. 10647. See pp. 76, 82.
- † Νικόμαχος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῆς Τρωικῆς. *Ca.* 425 B. C. Suid. s. v. Νικόμαχος. Meineke, *Hist. Crit.*, 496. Kirchner, No. 10932. See pp. 75, 79.
- Νίκων Νικοστράτου Ἀβυδηνός. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 493+518 (303/2 B. C.). Johnson, *AJA*, XVII (1913), 506-19. Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 271 ff. See p. 56.
- \* Ὀναμης. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- \* Ὀν——. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- Ὀξύθεμις Ἱπποστράτου Λαρισαῖος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 558 (ca. 303/2 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 11484. See pp. 56, 89.
- Ὀρόντης. Satrap of Mysia. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 207 (349/8 B. C.). Kirchner, No. 11490. See p. 48.
- Ὀφέλας Σειλῆνου Μακεδών. Before 308 B. C. Diodor. xx. 40.
- \* Παίδικος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall s. v. Παίδικος. See pp. 18 ff.

Παιρισάδης Ἰ Λεύκονος Βοσπόριος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 212 (347/6 B. C.). *Dem.* 20. 29 f. See p. 48.

† Παλαίφατος Αἰγύπτιος. *Suid. s. v.* Παλαίφατος.

Πάμφιλος Χαιρεφίλου Παιανιεύς. *Ca.* 325 B. C. *Din.* 1. 43. *Athen.* iii. 119f. *Kirchner*, No. 11555. See p. 52.

Πασίων Ἀχαρνεύς. 390-370 B. C. [*Dem.*] 59. 2; 46. 15. *Dem.* 36. 47; 45. 85. *IG*, II, 1238. *Kirchner*, No. 11672. See p. 41.

Παυσίμαχος Φιλοστράτου Περγαμηνός. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 954 (168-159 B. C.). *Wilhelm*, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 305 f. *IG*, II, 1386. *Kirchner*, Nos. 11737 and 11738. See p. 62, n. 208.

Πειθόλαος Θετταλός. *Ca.* 352 B. C. [*Dem.*] 59. 91. *Aristot. Rhet.* 1410a 17. Deprived of citizenship by court. *Kirchner*, No. 11762. See p. 65.

Πεισιθείδης Πεισιθείδου Δήλιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 222 (*ca.* 331 B. C.). *Johnson*, *CPh*, IX (1914), 424. See p. 64.

Περδίκκης Μακεδών. *Ca.* 479 B. C. *Dem.* 23. 200. See p. 29.

Πιτυρεὺς Ἴωνος Ἐπιδάυριος. *Paus.* ii. 26. 2. See p. 26.

Πολέμων Εὐηγέτου Ἰλιδεύς, Σάμιος, or Σικυνώνιος. 200-180 B. C. *Suid. s. v.* Πολέμων. *Athen.* vi. 234d. See p. 73.

Πολύγνωτος Ἀγλαοφώντος Θάσιος. 463-461 B. C. *Harpoc. s. v.* Πολύγνωτος. *Suid. s. v.* Πολύγνωτος. See p. 31.

Πολυσθένης. *Ca.* 363 B. C. *Dem.* 23. 202.

Πολύστρατος. *Ca.* 390 B. C. *Dem.* 20. 84; 4. 24. *Suid. s. v.* Πολύστρατος. *Kirchner*, No. 12070. See p. 40.

Ποσῆς Σάμιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1 (403/2 B. C.). See p. 38.

Πτολεμαῖος Εὐεργέτης Πτολεμαίου Φιλαδέλφου Αἰγύπτιος. *Ca.* 224/3 B. C. *Ferguson*, *Klio*, VIII (1908), 344.

- Πύθων Αἴνιος. *Ca.* 360 B. C. *Dem.* 23. 119. Kirchner, No. 12479. See pp. 44, 64, 91, 94.
- Πύθων Δημέου. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 712 (267-262 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 433. Cf. Tarn, *JHSt*, XL (1920), 143-59. Kirchner, No. 12466.
- Πῶλος Χαρικλέους Αἰγινήτης Σουνιεύς. *Ca.* 318-315 B. C. *Plut. Dem.* 28. *Luc. Nekom.* 16. Kirchner, No. 12526. See p. 71.
- Σάδοκος Σιτάλκου Θράξ. 431 B. C. *Thuc.* ii. 29. Kirchner, No. 12546. See pp. 32, 63, 94, 100.
- † Σάτυρος I Σπαρτόκου II Βοσπόριος. 407-387 B. C. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 212 (347/6 B. C.). See p. 48.
- † Σθένης Ἡροδώρου Ὀλύνθιος Διομειεύς. After 348 B. C. Benndorf, *ZöGy*, XXVI (1875), 740-43. Kirchner, No. 12641.
- Σθόρυς Θάσιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 17 (394/3 B. C.). See p. 40.
- Σίμων Θράξ. 359-356 B. C. *Dem.* 23. 12. Kirchner, No. 12709.
- Σιτάλκης. Before 340 B. C. Either an unknown Sitalces or confused with Cotys.
- Σόλων Στράτωνος Βαργυλιήτης. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 496+507 (303/2 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 274. See p. 57.
- Σπάρτοκος III Λεύκονος Βοσπόριος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 212 (347/6 B. C.). *Dem.* 20. 29 f. See p. 48.
- Σπάρτοκος IV Εὐμήλου Βοσπόριος. Before *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 653 (287/6 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 277. See p. 100.
- Στράβαξ. *Ca.* 390 B. C. *Aristot. Rhet.* 1399b 2. *Dem.* 20. 84. Kirchner, No. 12911. See p. 40.
- Στρόμβιχος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 666, 667 (280/79 B. C. or 282/1 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 277. Tarn, *JHSt*, XL (1920), 158. Kirchner, No. 13024. See p. 60.

Σφήττος Τροιζήνης Τροιζήνιος Σφήττιος. Paus. ii. 30. 9.  
See p. 26.

Σωκράτης Σωχάριδος Ῥόδιος. Before 250 B. C. Kirchner, No. 13126.

Σώνικος. IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 387 (319/8 B. C.).

\* Σωσίας. IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall s. v. Σωσίας. See pp. 18 ff.

† Σωσίθεος Συρακούσιος ἡ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῆς Τρωικῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. Ca. 280 B. C. Suid. s. v. Σωσίθεος. See p. 77.

Σώστρατος. IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 643 (299/8 B. C.).

Ταυροσθένης Μνησάρχου Χαλκιδεύς. 343/2-340 B. C. Aeschines 3. 85. Din. 1. 44. Hyper. 5. 20. Schaefer, Dem. u. s. Zeit<sup>2</sup>, II, 423. Kirchner, No. 13435. See p. 49.

† Τελεσίας Τροζήνιος. IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 971 (140/39 B. C.). Wilhelm, MAI, XXXIX (1914), 314.

Τήρης Θορᾶς. Ca. 357/6 B. C. Ep. Phil. 8. See p. 46.

\* Τίμαιος. IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall s. v. Τίμαιος. See pp. 18 ff.

Τιμόμαχος. IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 394 (321/0-319/8 B. C.).

Τιμωνίδης Μαρωνίτης ἡ Μαραθήσιος ἡ Μαραθηνός. IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 854 (229-200 B. C.). Wilhelm, WSt, XXXIV (1912), 424. Kirchner, No. 13859.

Τόξαρις Σκύθης. 594-583 B. C. Luc. Scyth. 1, 4.

Φάλλλος Φωκέυς. Ca. 352 B. C. Dem. 23. 124.

Φείδιππος Χαιρεφίλου Παιανιεύς. Ca. 325 B. C. Din. 1. 43. Athen. iii. 119f. Kirchner, No. 14163. See p. 52.

Φείδων Χαιρεφίλου Παιανιεύς. Ca. 325 B. C. Din. 1. 43. Athen. iii. 119f. Kirchner, No. 14184. See p. 52.

- Φιλαῖος Αἴαντος Σαλαμίνιος Φιλαΐδης. *Plut. Sol.* 10. *Paus.* i. 35. 2. See p. 26.
- Φιλέταιρος Ἀττάλου I Περγαμηνὸς Συπαλήττιος. *Ca.* 175/4 B. C. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 905 (*ca.* 175/4 B. C.). *Ditt.*, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 641, n. 2. *Kirchner*, No. 14254.
- Φιλήμων Δάμωνος Συρακόσιος Διομειεύς. Before *IG*, II, 1289 (307/6 B. C.). *IG*, III, 948. *Anonym. De com.*, *Kaibel*, 9. *Kirchner*, No. 14277. See p. 71.
- Φίλιππος Ἀμύντου Μακεδών. *Ca.* 338 B. C. *Plut. Dem.* 22. *Din.* 1. 43. See p. 50.
- Φιλίσκος Ἀβυδηνός. *Ca.* 367 B. C. *Dem.* 23. 141, 202. *Kirchner*, No. 14430. See pp. 43, 95.
- Φιλωνίδης Λαοδικεύς. Before *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1236 (200-150 B. C.).
- Φιλωνίδης Φιλωνίδου Λαοδικεύς. Before *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1236 (200-150 B. C.). Son of the preceding.
- Φιλ.....δης Ῥόδιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 19 (394/3 B. C.).
- Φορμίων Ἀκαρνάν. *Ca.* 400 (?) B. C. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 237 (338/7 B. C.). *Kirchner*, No. 14961. See p. 51.
- Φορμίων. 361/0 B. C. [*Dem.*] 46. 13. *Kirchner*, No. 14951. See p. 43.
- Φορμίων Ἀκαρνάν. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 237 (338/7 B. C.). See *Kirchner*, No. 14961. See pp. 51, 64, 101.
- Φρασιηρίδης Ἀναφλύστιος (?). *Ca.* 363 B. C. *Dem.* 23. 202; 20. 84. [*Dem.*] 49. 43; 50. 41. *Kirchner*, No. 14976.
- \* Φρόνιχος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). *Sundwall s. v.* Φρόνιχος. See pp. 18 ff.
- Φωκῖνος Εὐάλκου Μεγαρεὺς Δημητριάδος. After 307 B. C. *IGS*, I, 1-7 (306-287 B. C.). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 766 (270/69 B. C.). *Johnson, CPh*, IX (1914), 434. *Kirchner*, No. 15072.

- \* Χαιρέδημος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall *s. v.* Χαιρέδημος. See pp. 18 ff.
- Χαιρέφιλος Παιανιεύς. *Ca.* 325 B. C. *Din.* 1. 43. *Athen.* iii. 119f. *Kirchner*, No. 15187. See p. 52.
- Χαρίδημος Φιλοξένου Ὠρείτης Ἀχαρνεύς. *Ca.* 357/6 B. C. *Dem.* 23. 23, 65, 141, 145, 151, 213. *Aristot. Rhet.* 1399b 2 f. *IG*, II, Add. 741. *Kirchner*, No. 15380. See pp. 46, 95.
- Χρύσιππος Ἀπολλωνίου Σολεύς. 260-208/4 B. C. *Strabo* xiv. 671. *Plut. De Stoic. rep.* 1034a. *Kirchner*, No. 15582. See p. 72.
- Χρυσ..... Σαλαμίνιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 716 (400-300 B. C.).
- \* Ψάμμις. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). Sundwall *s. v.* Ψάμμις. See pp. 18 ff.
- \* Ω——. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- \* ..αγ—. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- ...αρχος Ἐρετριεύς. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 893 (*ca.* 188/7 B. C.). *Wilhelm, MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 295 ff. See p. 62, n. 208.
- ...ήσιππος Ἀπελλοῦ Αἰγινήτης. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 981 (168-129 B. C.).
- \* ...ιππο—. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- \* .....κ—. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- ς Ἡρακλείδου Ταραντίνος (?). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 979 (168-129 B. C.). *Wilhelm, WSt*, XXXIV (1912), 424 ff. See p. 62, n. 208.
- \* ...υσίας. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- \* ....ων. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- \* ...ωπος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10 (401/0 B. C.). See pp. 18 ff.
- ..... Ἀγῆνος Ἐπιδάμνιος. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 350 (331/0 B. C.). See p. 52.

- Δημητρι—(?). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 538 (*ca.* 334-331 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 428. Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 269.
- Εὐαγύρου Σαλαμίνιοι. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 716 (400-300 B. C.).
- ..... Ἑγελόχου Ἀπολλωνιάτης. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 350 (331/0 B. C.). See p. 52.
- ..... Καλλικλέους. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 392 (321/0-319/8 B. C.).
- Μιθραξίδου Ἀριαραθεύς. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 980 (168-129 B. C.).
- Παίονος Μεσσήνιοι. Paus. ii. 18. 7. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, 225 ff. See p. 26.
- Ἄνδριοι. *Ca.* 399 B. C. Andoc. 1. 149. See pp. 39, 63, n. 211, 87 f.
- Ἀρκεσινεύς (?). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 718 (300-250 B. C.).
- Γεφυραῖοι (Φοίνικες). Her. v. 57. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, 293 ff. See p. 26.
- Ἐφέσιος (?). *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 853 (229-200 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 310 ff.
- Θετταλοὶ Περιθοῖδαι. Time of Theseus. Suid. s. v. Περιθοῖδαι. Plut. *Thes.* 25. See p. 26.
- Θετταλοί. *Ca.* 399 B. C. Andoc. 1. 149. See pp. 39, 63, n. 211, 87 f.
- Μυτιληναῖος. Before *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 40 (*ca.* 383/2 B. C.); Wilhelm, *WSt*, XXXIV (1912), 416 ff.
- Ὀλύνθιοι. After 348 B. C. Suid. s. v. Κάρανος.
- Πλαταιεῖς. 519 and 428/7 B. C. Thuc. iii. 55, 63. [Dem.] 59. 104. See pp. 29, 33, 62, 64.
- Πριηνεῖς. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 566+unpub. fr. (307/6 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 281.
- Πρόδιοι. 200 B. C. Polyb. xvi. 26. Szanto, *Griech. Bürgerr.*, 68 f., 79. See p. 62.
- Σάμιοι. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1 (405/4 B. C.). See pp. 36, 100.

- Προξήνιος. 307-301 or 294/3 B. C. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 971 (140/39 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 314.
- ——— εὔς. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 508 (318-300 B. C.).
- . 508/7 B. C. Aristot. *Pol.* iii. 1275b 37; *Ath. Pol.* 21. See pp. 66, 87.
- . 406 B. C. Diodor. xiii. 97. See pp. 36, 66, 88.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 185 (400-353/2 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 578 (400-300 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 251 (352-336 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 282 (352-336 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 297 (352-336 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 301 (352-336 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 511 (350-331 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 428.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 438 (332-300 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 426.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 393 (321/0-319/8 B. C.).
- ..... *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 394 (321/0-319/8 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 395 (321/0-319/8 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 398 (ca. 320/19 B. C.). See p. 54.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 541 (318-302 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 575 (318-300 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 576 (318-300 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 577 (318-300 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 519 (307-301 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 696 (ca. 306-303 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 432.
- † ———. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 719 (300-250 B. C.). See pp. 21 ff.

- † ———. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 720 (300-250 B. C.). See pp. 21 ff.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 804 (300-250 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 438.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 805 (300-250 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 438.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 643 (299/8 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 707 (*ca.* 295 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 433.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 648 (*ca.* 295/4 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 570 (294-288, 279-269, or 256-232 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 428. Cf. Tarn, *JHSt*, XL (1920), 143-59.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 721 (279-268 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 433. Cf. Tarn, *JHSt*, XL (1920), 143-59.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 717 (262-230 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 433. See p. 61.
- † ———. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 734 (250/49 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 433.
- \* ———. *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 706 (*ca.* 232 B. C.). Johnson, *CPh*, IX (1914), 433. See pp. 21 ff.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 806 (*ca.* 230 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 851 (229-223 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 298-302.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 845 (229-200 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 855 (229-200 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 298.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 856 (229-200 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 298.
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 923 (200-168 B. C.).
- . *IG*, II<sup>2</sup>, 925 (200-168 B. C.). Wilhelm, *MAI*, XXXIX (1914), 306 f.

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